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# An Annotated Translation of the Correspondence of John of Salisbury: Letters 136-175

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AN ANNOTATED TRANSLATION OF  
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JOHN OF SALISBURY,  
LETTERS 136-175

by  
Daniel V. Harkin, S.J.

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of  
the Requirements for the Degree of  
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in  
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## VITA

The candidate, Daniel V. Harkin, S.J., was born September 18, 1920, in Chicago, Illinois. After elementary schooling in the Glencoe Public School, Glencoe, Illinois, he was enrolled at Loyola Academy, Chicago, in September of 1933, and graduated in 1937.

He attended Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., from 1937 to May, 1940, when he returned to Chicago after the death of his father, and enrolled at the Lake Shore Campus of Loyola University. A year later, in June, 1941, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts here, his major sequence being in Latin.

During the scholastic year 1941-1942 he was appointed a Graduate Assistant in the Department of Classics of Loyola University Graduate School. He had completed the course requirements and examinations for the degree of Master of Arts, and was engaged in preparing the thesis herewith submitted, when in August, 1942, he left Chicago to enter the California Province of the Society of Jesus.

At present, October, 1945, he is engaged in the Society's course of philosophy at Mount St. Michael's, Spokane, Washington.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION

Of the early life of John of Salisbury, one of the greatest scholars of the middle ages, little is known. He was born in Salisbury, the present Old Sarum, between 1115 and 1120, and received at least a part of his early education from a priest who also practised crystal-gazing, as he mentions in the Policraticus.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of King Henry I in 1135, John continued his studies in France, where he was taught first by Abelard, afterwards by Alberic of Rheims, and then by Robert of Melun, later Bishop of Hereford. At length, in 1137, he became a pupil of William of Conches, probably at Chartres, and pursued the studies of the medieval trivium and quadrivium in that city.<sup>2</sup>

In 1140 John returned to Paris, supporting himself there by his services as tutor to young noblemen. In 1148 he attended the council of Pope Eugenius III at Rheims,<sup>3</sup> in whose court he had perhaps spent the two years previous, according to C. C.

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<sup>1</sup>Cf. Policraticus, 2, 28; in Migne, Patrologia Latina, volume 199, columns 385 and following.

<sup>2</sup>Cf. Metalogicon, 2, 10; in Migne, P.L., volume 199, columns 823 and following.

<sup>3</sup>Cf. Policraticus, 2, 22.

J. Webb's conjecture.<sup>4</sup> It was at Rheims that he met his future in the persons of St. Bernard of Clairvaux and Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury; through a testimonial letter from the former John would enter Theobald's service six years later, and through Theobald in turn he would meet a headstrong young cleric with whose life his own was to be closely intertwined, Thomas Becket, at that time Archdeacon of Canterbury and soon to be Chancellor to the King.

In the interim, however, John remained in the service of Eugenius III until that prelate's death in 1153, and for some months afterward under his successor, Anastasius IV. He was employed apparently in the minutiae of curial documents, drafting papal bulls, as his close friend Petter of Celle says in one of his letters.<sup>5</sup> At last, in 1154, he became a member of Archbishop Theobald's household. Acting as secretary to the aging primate, he seems to have taken an active part in the Archbishop's dealings with the Holy See, visiting Rome himself repeatedly in audience with his friend Nicholas Breakspear, Pope Adrian IV, and even falling under Henry II's displeasure when his intermediary offices were reported to his majesty as prejudicial to the interests of the crown. It was during the

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. Clement C. J. Webb, John of Salisbury, Methuen, London, 1932, pages 11-12, from which this account is largely condensed.

<sup>5</sup>Cf. Peter of Celle, Letter 72; in Migne, P.L., volume 202.

lull in his activities consequent on this displeasure that John found time to complete his two principal works, the Polycraticus and the Metalogicon, both dedicated to his friend and intercessor, Thomas of Canterbury, now King Henry II's Chancellor.

After Archbishop Theobald died in April, 1161, his wish to be succeeded by Thomas Becket<sup>6</sup> found favor with King Henry, and John was deputed to receive the pallium from Alexander III at Montpellier. During the quarrels between Henry and Thomas which began shortly after the latter's consecration, John remained staunchly loyal to his friend, as his correspondence shows. In the storm raised by the Constitutions of Clarendon in November of 1163, however, he felt his position growing more precarious, and apparently as a result of a royal edict he and his brother Richard left England early the following year.

From this time until the brief reconciliation of Henry and Thomas in 1170, John was in exile. He stayed for a time at Paris, but made his permanent headquarters with Peter of Celle in Rheims, whence he travelled to conferences with Pope Alexander III, King Louis VII of France, and many influential intermediaries. His primary object during these years, to judge from his correspondence, was to work for the reconciliation of the King and his Archbishop, and to effect his own recall on

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<sup>6</sup>Cf. John's Entheticus, 1295; in Migne, P.L., volume 199, columns 379-384.

honorable terms. He seems also to have been much interested in the settlement of the schism of Barbarossa and his anti-Pope Victor IV, and gave his constant support to Alexander III, the true Pope. Together with these activities, he was able to work on or complete his Historia Pontificalis, of which a fragment --all that he wrote or all that remains of it--is extant today.

John landed in England on November 16, 1170, preparing the way for the return of the Archbishop, who had made a kind of truce late in the previous July. He was at the martyr's side the morning of his murder, December 29, 1170,<sup>7</sup> and was in the immediate vicinity, though probably not present, when the actual murder was committed. Shortly after Thomas' death, John wrote a biographical sketch intended to introduce the martyr's cause for canonization; for, in common with the Christian world of his day, he never doubted Thomas' sanctity.

John himself, meanwhile, had been made Canon and Treasurer of Exeter. He was invited by Louis VII of France, in 1176, to accept the vacant bishopric of Chartres, and was consecrated on August 8 of that year. His last appearance in the pages of recorded history seems to have been his attendance at the third Lateran Council in 1179. The following year, October 25, 1180, he died, and was succeeded in his bishopric by his old friend

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<sup>7</sup>Cf. Herbert of Bosham, Vita Sancti Thomae, 5, 11; in Robertson, Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, 7 volumes, London, Rolls Series, 1875-1883; (volume 3, page 487).



Peter of Celle, who seven years later was laid beside him in St. Mary's Chapel of the "monastery of Josaphat," on the outskirts of Chartres.

. . . . .

The portion of John's correspondence which here follows in translation includes letters 136 to 175 of the edition of Rev. William J. Millor, S.J. (University of London, 1939). The first letter, 136, was written to Archbishop Thomas shortly after John and his brother left England in 1164; the last, 175, sometime in July of 1166. Millor's text, as well as his chronological arrangement of the correspondence, has been followed throughout.

PARTS II AND III  
LETTERS 136 TO 175:  
TRANSLATION AND NOTES

Letter 136: John to Archbishop Thomas Becket

To the venerable lord and dear father Thomas, by grace of God Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of England, his servant John of Salisbury wishes health and the happy fulfillment of his prayers:

The moment I stepped on this shore of the channel I seemed to sense a milder and more tranquil clime, and once the storm-squalls began to subside I was surprised at the general prosperity everywhere, and at the calm and happy temper of the people. When I disembarked, the liegemen of Count Arnold,<sup>1</sup> at his command and under the direction of his grandson Arnold II,<sup>2</sup> welcomed me deferentially, and out of respect for you<sup>3</sup> put his home and grounds at the disposal of myself and my retinue. They relieved me of all bother with social amenities and escorted me almost all the way to Saint-Omer.<sup>4</sup> Upon my arrival there I was very nobly received in the monastery of St. Bertin<sup>5</sup> through the efforts of a certain Marsilius, a monk who used to stop at Chillingham and Trowley;<sup>6</sup> it was clear to see that the church here has a high esteem for the holy see of Canterbury and yourself. If you please, you might express your gratitude to both the Count and

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1 Arnold I, Count of Guines.

2 The son of Baldwin and grandson of Arnold I.

3 Archbishop Thomas, when chancellor, had knighted Baldwin.

4 In Flanders.

5 The monastery of St. Bertin in Saint-Omer, Flanders.

6 In Kent.

the monks when an occasion offers. When I had gone from there to Arras,<sup>7</sup> I heard that Count Philip<sup>8</sup> was at Castle L'Ecluse,<sup>9</sup> from which the tyrant of Ypres<sup>10</sup> was expelled after that long siege. I turned off in that direction, then, and as the Lord mercifully sped my journey in every way, I met the Count not far from the highway. This was because he was at falconry, tramping about through streams, marshes, swamps, and gushing springs, after the fashion of the rich, who delight in this kind of trifling. He was happy to find a man from whom he might hear a reliable account of conditions in England, and I was even happier, because God had shown him to me so that I fulfilled your command without going far out of my way. He made many inquiries about the king and the nobles, but I so tempered my replies that my conscience does not reprove me for lying nor can anyone charge me with speaking rashly of matters of state. When the Count heard of your straitened circumstances he expressed his sympathy and promised help. He will even procure ships, if your needs become pressing and if he is forewarned, as he should be. If the storm should actually force you to flee, send on Philip<sup>11</sup> at least, as your purchasing agent, to use the influence of the

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7 About 15 miles southeast of Douai, Flanders.

8 Philip of Amlens, son of Theodoric, Count of Flanders.

9 A couple of French miles south of Douai. It can be found marked in Bleau's map of 1640.

10 William of Ypres, a Flemish knight formerly in the service of King Stephen, predecessor of Henry II of England.

11 Philip of Calne, manciple of the archbishop.

Count and to contract with sailors and porters as may be expedient. I took leave of the Count after this and arrived the following day at Noyon. Wherever I went, there seemed to be some restless, swift-moving rumor that had already made public the plight of the English and the molestations our churches are suffering; so true was this that I heard there of many proceedings of the councils of London<sup>12</sup> and Wilton,<sup>13</sup> of which I had never heard in England. Of course, as is often the case, many of the reports were greater and worse than the truth. I tried very carefully to put a varnish on all the talk that was on the common tongue, but I won full credence neither when I pretended that things were going well nor when I dissembled our reverses. And here is something surprising: the day I was at Noyon, the Count of Soissons<sup>14</sup> rattled off to the dean<sup>15</sup> all the articles

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12 Held in October, 1163.

13 "John calls it conventus Wintoniensis, but there was no assembly at Winchester, and we must conclude that Wintoniensis is a scribal error for Wiltoniensis. The present city of Salisbury was not then in existence, and the council of Clarendon might be named from Wilton, the town nearest to it, and distant only three or four miles." R. L. Poole in the preface to his edition of the Historia Pontificalis, page lxxix.

14 Ivo de Nigella.

15 Baldwin de Beuseberg, later Bishop of Noyon, 1167-1175.

of the London assembly (or perhaps I should say "disassembly"<sup>16</sup>) as if he had been present personally at all the proceedings, not only those that transpired in the palace, but even those mentioned most guardedly by one party or the other in the privy chamber.<sup>17</sup> I find it hard to believe that the French have not wary agents there, either of their own people or of ours. The dean of Noyon, staunch and loyal as he is, was very sorry to hear of the extortion to which you were subjected.<sup>18</sup> He is ready to welcome you, and will not only offer you all his goods, but is prepared, should there be need of it, to put even his own person at the disposal of the see of Canterbury. He had decided to approach the Curia, but being uncertain of your own position and anxious about it he is awaiting definite word at home. At Noyon I was advised that the French king<sup>19</sup> was at Laon, and that

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16 The text of Millor's edition reads: ". . .articulos Londoniensis, nescio conciliabuli aut disciliabuli dicam. . ." The word "disciliabulum" does not appear in Du Cange's Glossarium Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis, nor in any classical dictionary to which the translator has had access; the word seems rather to be a pun on the opposite meanings of the prefixes con- and dis-, coining a word by the combination. Hence the attempt to reproduce this in the translation.

17 Perhaps in reference to 4 Kings, 6, 12.

18 In reference perhaps to the articles of the Constitutions of Clarendon, or to Henry II's policy of reclaiming lands for the crown. It might possibly refer to Henry's demand for the Archbishop to account for monies handled by him as chancellor, when the latter put himself on the king's mercy at the council of Northampton, October 1164; but this would date the letter after that time, which seems improbable.

19 Louis VII.

my lord of Rheims<sup>20</sup> was at hand waiting for a conference with him. I determined therefore to go to them, but because of the skirmishes which the Count of Roucy<sup>21</sup> and some other nobles were conducting against my lord of Rheims I abandoned my intention and turned toward Paris. Here I was amazed to see the abundance of food, the happiness of the people and their reverence for the clergy, the dignity and grandeur of the church, and the various pursuits of the philosophers. It was a sight like that ladder of Jacob's<sup>22</sup> whose top touched heaven and was a pathway for ascending and descending angels; my happy stay there has forced me to avow that "Indeed the Lord is in this place, and I knew it not."<sup>23</sup> And that line of the poet came also to mind: ". . . fortunate indeed to be given that ground for place of exile. . . ." <sup>24</sup> After a few days spent in renting a hospice and collect-

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20 Henry of France, brother of Louis VII and archbishop of Rheims, 1162-1175.

21 Robert Guiscard, who had robbed the messenger of the Archbishop of Lyons and had been cited by the Archbishop of Rheims, the Archbishop of Lyons having died in the meantime. The count appealed to the Pope, who issued a mandate, dated at Sens, February 27, 1165, ordering him to restore the money under pain of excommunication. (Cf. Letter 304 of Alexander III, Migne, Patrologia Latina, volume 200, column 333.)

22 Cf. Genesis 28. 12.

23 Genesis 28.16

24 Ovid, Fasti 1.540. The text of Ovid in the Loeb Classical Library edition here reads "felix exilium cui locus iste fuit." The line as written by John reads "felix exilium, cui locus iste datur." John's quotations from Biblical and profane sources often do not agree verbatim with modern texts. Where the change involves only word order or the substitution of synonyms, the translation of the modern text has been in-

ing my baggage, I went to the French king and gave him an orderly description of your case. Why say more? He sympathized, promised aid, and declared that he had written to my lord Pope<sup>25</sup> on your behalf, and that he would write again if necessary and do what he could by way of personal appeal. When I paid him his daughter's<sup>26</sup> respects, having seen her recently at Salisbury with full permission of my lady Queen,<sup>27</sup> he answered that it would be his greatest joy if she had already been received by the angels in Paradise. When I subjoined that in God's mercy this would happen sometime, but that she would first gladden many peoples, the king replied "Even this is possible to God, but it is far more likely that she will be the cause of many evils." God forbid what her father's heart forebodes, for "I scarcely hope," he said, "that any good can come

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serted unchanged; where the discrepancy is greater than this, the English translation has been adapted to fit John's version. In either case, however, all deviations from the modern text will be indicated in the notes. The English translation adapted here is from Sir James G. Frazer's translation of the Fasti, in the Loeb Classical Library series, Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1931.

25 Alexander III.

26 Margaret, the young princess whom Louis VII had entrusted to Henry II's care, and whose marriage to the latter's son Henry was celebrated, without a word of warning to King Louis, on November 2, 1160; the husband was five and a half years old and the bride hardly three. Henry II's motive for this was probably to take over the Norman Vexin, which territory had been promised as Margaret's marriage portion. Cf. Cambridge Medieval History, volume V, pp. 611, 612.

27 Eleanor, wife of Henry II and former wife of Louis VII.



from her." The French fear and hate our king in equal measure, but as regards them--we may let things sleep quietly. As I was unable myself to go to the Bishop of Rheims, I addressed my letter to the Abbot of St. Remy,<sup>28</sup> a very close friend of mine, asking him to take my place in that quarter. For the rest, the best plan seems to me for you to send a letter with some little gift to my lord of Rheims by some monk of Boxley<sup>29</sup> or some other reliable messenger, and strike up a friendship with him; for whatever he may be in himself, he is powerful in the French kingdom and very influential in the Roman church, thanks both to the king and to the prestige of his own see. I have not yet gone up to the church of Rome,<sup>30</sup> but am avoiding it as much as possible, so that there may be no grounds for entertaining suspicion against me. And this very motive, as I have learned from a letter of my lord of Poitiers,<sup>31</sup> is well known to my lord Pope and the Curia. After receiving your letter, I wrote then and there to my lord Henry<sup>32</sup> and to William of Pavia,<sup>33</sup> and explained in full how the high-handed treatment offered you will

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28 Peter of Celle, abbot of St. Remy at Rheims from 1162 until he succeeded John of Salisbury as Bishop of Chartres in 1180. John enjoyed Peter's hospitality during his exile in France from 1164 until 1170.

29 A Cistercian abbey at Boxley, Kent.

30 The Roman Curia was then residing at Sens.

31 John Belmeis, Bishop of Poitiers 1162-1182, and later Archbishop of Lyons.

32 Henry of Pisa, cardinal of SS. Nereus and Achilleus.

33 Cardinal of St. Peter at Vincula.

tend to the ruin of the Roman church if it is allowed to continue. I put off going there, however, since we know nothing certain of the crossing of the Abbot of St. Augustine<sup>34</sup> or the Bishop of Lisieux;<sup>35</sup> if they arrive at the Curia I can get word of it quickly from master Henry,<sup>36</sup> who is staying there. But I do not see clearly what I can do there then, for they are doing you much harm and little good. For great men will come, lavishly bestowing their wealth (a practice which Rome has never despised) and relying not on their own influence alone, but on that of my lord King, whom the Curia will in no way dare offend. More than this, they will have been reinforced with grants from the Roman church, which in cases of this sort has rarely or never yielded to any bishop. Finally, my lord Pope has been constantly opposed to us in this case, and decries to this day what was done for us by Adrian,<sup>37</sup> who was devoted to the see of Canter-

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34 Clarembald, who was then engaged in the old quarrel between the abbots of St. Augustine and the archbishops of Canterbury over the profession of obedience. Confer Letter 67 of Millor's edition. In a letter dated from Montpellier July 10, 1165, Alexander III ordered Clarembald to make his profession of obedience to Thomas. Intruded into the abbacy in 1163, Clarembald was finally removed by Alexander III in 1176. Confer Letter 310 in Giles' edition.

35 Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux 1141-1181. Confer Letter 105 in Millor's edition.

36 Perhaps to be identified with Hervy, an envoy of Archbishop Thomas.

37 Adrian IV, Nicholas Breakspear, the only English Pope. His mother was probably living at the house of the Breakspears in Abbot's Langley, north of Watford in Hertfordshire.

bury, and whose mother is still among you, racked with cold and hunger. Humble, needy, and helpless as we are, can we do anything, we who have only words to offer to the Romans? They have learned long ago from their comic poet not to "pay cash for expectations."<sup>38</sup> You write to me, if no other way is open, to promise them as a last resort two hundred marks, but the opposition will surely give three or four hundred rather than be worsted: "nor, if with gifts you were to vie, would Iolas yield."<sup>39</sup> And I will answer for the Romans, that out of love for my lord King and respect for his emissaries, they would rather receive more than hope for less.<sup>40</sup> The fact that your plight involves the liberty of the church is a point in your favor; but the king's defenders and your jealous rivals will minimize the righteousness of your cause and try to make this a question of personal arrogance rather than church freedom. To gain credence more quickly, they will hold out to my lord Pope the hope of coming to England himself, for "my ears have already received the veins of this whisper";<sup>41</sup> they will say that the

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38 Terence, Adelphoi 219; translation from John Sargeant, in Loeb Classical Library (Terence, volume II), Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1925.

39 Virgil, Eclogues, ii, 57; translation by H. Rushton Fairclough, in Loeb Classical Library, (Virgil, volume I), Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1930.

40 That is, would rather take a large sum from the king's envoys than a small sum from us.

41 Job 4.12; the Vulgate reads "suscepit auris mea venas susurri eius," whereas John writes "venas huius susurri iam audiit auris mea."

coronation of the young king has been postponed that he may be consecrated by the apostolic hand,<sup>42</sup> and you may know how eager the Romans are for this. As a matter of fact some people are deriding us already, saying that my lord Pope will proceed to the church of Canterbury to "move your candlestick"<sup>43</sup> and hold the see there for a time himself. I do not believe that my lord Pope has this in mind as yet, however, for I hear that he is very grateful to you for your constancy. But one thing I know beyond shadow of doubt: if the Bishop of Lisieux comes, there is nothing he will hesitate to say; I know the fellow and have experienced his chicanery in such matters. And who can have any doubt about the Abbot? Just the other day the Bishop of Poitiers wrote to me that he could accomplish nothing against this Abbot of St. Augustine, though he had made repeated efforts. Yet, at God's command, since you so order, I will go there and try to do what I can. But I should not be blamed if it is in vain, for as Ethicus says, "'Tis not always in a physician's power to cure the sick; at times the disease is stronger than trained art."<sup>44</sup> As for the rest, let your own discretion determine whether you

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42 This rumor did not materialize. Young Henry was finally crowned by Robert, Archbishop of York, while Archbishop Thomas was on the continent. Confer Cambridge Medieval History, volume V; Macmillan, New York, 1926; pp. 563.

43 Apocalypse, 2.5.

44 Ovid, Epistulae ex Ponto 1.3.17-18; translation by Arthur Leslie Wheeler in Loeb Classical Library, (Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto), Wm. Heinemann, Ltd., London, 1924.

are dealing rightly with me. You know, if you care to remember, that when I left you you advised me to stay at Paris, to avoid any suspicion, to engage wholly in scholarly pursuits, and not to go to the church of Rome. Moreover, you did not approve of my bringing my brother,<sup>45</sup> on the ground that we should have to spend a great deal, and that he could stay more economically at Exeter. But when I cited in answer the objections to my brother which Count Reginald<sup>46</sup> had made to the Bishop of Exeter,<sup>47</sup> you approved my plan. I left, then, under instructions from you to make Paris my headquarters, and to try in every way to adapt myself to a scholar's life. God is my witness that when I left you I had not twelve denarii in all the world, and there was no one, as far as I knew, to call upon. I had, of course, a few small pieces of luggage, familiar enough to my associates at the hospice, and worth about five marks; and (as many know) I was also heavily in debt, but on my own responsibility. Accordingly I borrowed ten marks, but before I left Canterbury I had spent three of them for luggage and the upkeep of my retinue. At last, from William, the son of Paine,<sup>48</sup> I received seven marks from your bounty, and, as you had ordered, was to receive

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45 Richard, who later returned but rejoined John in July, 1166.

46 Reginald, Earl of Cornwall, natural son of Henry I; he died in 1175.

47 Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter 1161-1184.

48 Not otherwise known, but perhaps in the service of the Archbishop.

three more; but that these have not materialized is no fault of yours. When I came to Paris, then, according to your instructions I rented a comfortable lodging temporarily, as seemed best; but before I set foot in it I spent almost twelve pounds, for I could only take up residence there after paying the rental for an entire year in advance. I disposed of the horses, therefore, and settled down to residence instead of travel. On this account I am all the more unprepared to make the trips which you suggest, for they cannot be made without expense, especially by a man of ecclesiastical office and wide acquaintance. More than this, I am enduring the wrath of the king without cause, as my conscience is witness, and if I oppose his envoys I will endure still more. Hence, if you please, you ought to excuse me from doing what can be administered just as conveniently by others. Nevertheless, as far as expenses, no matter where I incur them, will allow, I will fulfill your commands; but you should realize what it is you are commanding. And since the present status of the Roman church is not unknown, the most prudent plan in temporal matters would seem to be to concentrate attention on two things: one, to buy yourself out of the snares of your creditors in any way you can; the other, to seek the king's good graces as far as you can in accordance with God's law. God can heal the breach, but the Roman church will give no assistance, and I am

afraid the French king is a "staff of a reed."<sup>49</sup> Moreover, you ought to be merciful, if you please, with your nephew Geoffrey; it is high time. For since the day he entered my hospice, as far as I have been able to observe, he has behaved himself respectably and has given his unflagging attention to literature. My lord of Poitiers supported him before I came; he gave him five marks at first, then one hundred soldi of Angers. Hence, if you please, you ought to treat the Bishop of Poitier's friends rather more kindly, and should not have shown any severity, if you please, at least out of respect for the bishop, in arranging a marriage for the daughter of William, son of Paine. Farewell.

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49 Cf. Isaias 36.6.

Letter 137: John to Bishop Guy de Joinville of Chalons-sur-Marne

My thanks to your Paternity,<sup>1</sup> who has deigned to anticipate me by favoring me with the consolation which you have offered. Your generosity, indeed, has moved me to your service so much the more, since I am receiving sure proof of your liberality not only from the reports of your friend, the abbot of St. Remy,<sup>2</sup> but by the very evidence of its activity. It would be laudable in men's eyes and very meritorious in the sight of God to welcome an approaching wanderer in compassion's embrace; but it is far more splendid and undoubtedly more gainful to invite an exile, particularly one banished for upholding the cause of God and the freedom of the church, to share one's goods. What answer then shall I make to my lord for this?<sup>3</sup> But surely the All-High will answer your charity, for He rewards not only the works of our hands, but among His elect repays even a good intention with bountiful retribution. He, serenest father, will open the eyes of His mercy upon you,<sup>4</sup> because you have opened your eyes on me. And as for me, I will be happy to come to you with all possible speed, if ever by divine favor I am given the power to gratify a wish of yours.

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1 The letter is addressed to Guide III, de Joinville, Bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, 1164-1190.

2 Peter of Celle, abbot of St. Remy, Rheims.

3 Cf. Job 31.14; 38.3.

4 Cf. Kings 4.8.29.



Letter 138: John to Bishop Milo of Terouanne-Boulogne

Trial is the test of loyalty, and a man's disposition is best known by his deeds. It is true, indeed, that the whole church of Canterbury, and even of England, has tried your<sup>1</sup> loyalty now, and declares your charity proved in the most impartial way; for you were the first of all to take in my lord and father<sup>2</sup> in his misfortune and to receive his fellow exiles like a father, not only spreading your store before them, but dividing it among them at their pleasure, exceeding your means but still falling short of the noble lavishness of your desire. Yet even so I owe you a more particular debt of gratitude, I, whom you received in a special way in the person of master Richard, my kinsman,<sup>3</sup> and to whom you opened a refuge of unstinting commiseration. But as I cannot fittingly requite such kindness, I pray that what you have done and are doing for him will be returned to you by the Lord, Who is mighty,<sup>4</sup> and will return good measure, shaken together and running over, and will pour it into the bosoms of them that do well.<sup>5</sup> For my part, I eagerly consecrate to your wishes everything I can, and will thank God

1 The letter is addressed to Milo II, an Englishman, Bishop of Terrouanne-Boulogne, 1159-1169.

2 Archbishop Thomas, then in exile.

3 Son of Master Geoffrey. Cf. Letter 168.

4 Perhaps from Luke 1.49.

5 Luke 6.38. John writes, "mensuram bonam et coagitatam et supereffluentem reddat et superfundat in bene facientium sinus"; the Vulgate reads, "mensuram bonam, et confertam, et coagitatam, et supereffluentem dabunt in sinum vestrum." (loc. cit.)

if in His mercy He grants that I may be of service to you in any way.

Letter 139: John to Bishop Henry of Bayeux

Whether to grieve or rejoice at "this word" of you<sup>1</sup> which "has come from the Lord"<sup>2</sup> is quite uncertain the more I ponder it. When I realize that your removal from us is certainly a reward of merit, I rejoice in the divine dispensation and in the virtues which from your early youth another patriarch Jacob<sup>3</sup> has sheltered as though in another Joseph. He has strengthened them too, as they grew and burgeoned, with his constant prayers and daily benediction, that they might know no flaw. But when on the other hand I am oppressed by the thought of the once renowned church of Salisbury deprived of her sun, and the grief-stricken clergy objecting and redoubling their tearful plaint, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel and the driver thereof,"<sup>4</sup> "Why do you forsake us, or for whom do you leave us desolate?"<sup>5</sup>--when, I say, many things are multiplied in this strain, easier to think of than to write, I cannot hold back my tears, cannot but "mourn with them that mourn,"<sup>6</sup>

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1 Henry, former dean of Salisbury, now promoted to the see of Bayeux, which he held 1164-1205. The fact that this letter and the following, Letter 140, are both addressed to the same Henry, added to the rather striking similarity of their construction, makes it seem likely that this letter was a rough draft of Letter 140.

2 Cf. Jeremias 26.1.

3 Cf. Genesis 37.

4 Kings 4.2.12.

5 Sulpicius Severus, Epistula ad Bassulam, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, volume 20, column 182.

6 Romans 12.15.

and sympathize with my mother church of Salisbury in sharing her grief. When I think of a successor a crowd of rivals swarms up.<sup>7</sup> But if my mind lights on anyone who might be superior to the others, he straightway seems a Phaethon usurping his father's chariot<sup>8</sup> when I compare him with his predecessor. Whose heart then is steeled enough to hold back his tears? My dejection at the desolation of our church would certainly swallow up the joy occasioned at your advancement, did not Ethicus<sup>9</sup> breathe in my ear that "great anguish for one's own inconveniences is the mark of the man who loves not his friend but himself."<sup>10</sup> Comforted in spirit, therefore, I submit, and thank Him Who alone is mighty<sup>11</sup> and to His glory has willed to enlighten still another kingdom by your splendor. But since you are leaving our land now, before your departure I beg you earnestly to try "always and in all places"<sup>12</sup> to reproduce for my brother and myself<sup>13</sup> the peace which you enjoy. God knows I

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7 John of Oxford usurped the deanery early in 1165.

8 Cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses, 2, 47.

9 That is, "the moralist," or "the ethicist."

10 Cicero, Laelius (De Amicitia), 3: "suis autem incommodis graviter angitur non amicum sed se ipsum amantis est." John omits "ipsum." Translation from W. A. Falconer, in Cicero: De Amicitia (Loeb Classical Library), Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1938.

11 Cf. Luke, chapter 1, verse 49.

12 Cf. Missale Romanum, (Praefatio Communis): "semper et ubique."

13 John had left England shortly after the Constitutions of Clarendon, 1164, (cf. Letter 136). He and his half-brother Richard were both in Henry II's displeasure at this time, though Richard obtained the king's pardon early in 1165.

do not believe I have deserved this displeasure. Please make provision then, Father, for the circumstances of your friends, and consider the hazardous condition in which you left them.

Letter 140: John to Bishop Henry of Bayeux

It is a matter of no little rashness to strive to undo the plans of the Lord, Whose regular disposition is always fulfilled even though the express command be changed.<sup>1</sup> Thus neither the bitter storms of fortune nor the flattery of the sycophant makes a well-ordered mind so forgetful of itself as to hope for prosperity except from grace, nor to fear a fall unless conscious of evil deserts. Wherefore he that thinketh himself to stand, let him take heed lest he fall,"<sup>2</sup> and let him whom the world persecutes cry to the Lord, through Whose mercy he is to be delivered if he "returns and cries"<sup>3</sup> with confidence; for in as great a measure as a man despairs of grace, just so much grace does he forfeit. Who has hoped in the Lord, then, and been forsaken?<sup>4</sup> To prove this to yourself, you cannot read more in the books of the Fathers than you can see with the eye of faith in your own life. For I see this too, when I recall that though the winds of adversity have often swirled about you, your years of youth and progress have prospered constantly in the Lord. Perhaps, just as another Jacob,<sup>5</sup>

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1 Cf. Letters 127 and 191 (Millor's edition); John's Policraticus 2.100.26; St. Gregory the Great, Moralia 16.10 (Migne, Patrologia Latina volume 75, col. 1127).

2 Cf. Corinthians 1.10.12.

3 Cf. Esdra 2.9.28.

4 Cf. Ecclesiasticus 2.11-12; and Psalms 21.6.

5 Cf. Genesis 37.

holy and worthy of such a child, your father had a presentiment of this in the Holy Ghost. For he embraced you beyond the others in the growing bud of virtues he saw in you, recognised you as his own Joseph, and almost to the envy of your brothers devoted himself wholly to one whom he knew had been predestined by God, and whom he knew would be advanced for the salvation of others to the favor of princes, through prosperity and misfortune, "by evil report and good report."<sup>6</sup> In behalf of God and church, for your father and your brothers, you have certainly tasted of that chalice;<sup>7</sup> even when you felt no thirst, wormwood and vinegar have been set before you by those who are mixing and offering the same chalice to me. May it prove the chalice of salvation.<sup>8</sup> You have tasted of it, I say, and I hope that it may henceforth be removed, so that in answer to your prayer you may be able to cling more closely and peacefully to God, if only this is best for you and for His church. Inasmuch as I know well the pathway you trod, having grown up together with you long ago, I have retraced all this rejoicing with you in your promotion, giving all the thanks I can to God, its author. And even though I sympathize with my own misfortune, or rather that of our whole church,<sup>9</sup> and its irreparable

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. Corinthians 2.6.8.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. John 19.28 and following.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Psalms 115.13.

<sup>9</sup> That is, the Church of England, and especially of Salisbury.

loss, still I have learned from Ethicus that "great anguish for one's own inconveniences is the mark of the man who loves not his friend but himself."<sup>10</sup> But what will that church, once famous and celebrated beyond others, though now--I cannot say it without tears--lowly and abject among the daughters of Jerusalem,<sup>11</sup> what will that church of Salisbury do, deprived of such a father? Who will stretch a hand to the bishop as he suffers shipwreck?<sup>12</sup> Who will console the clergy? For I seem to hear from there the wailing of both clergy and people crying with one voice, "Why do you forsake us, father, or for whom do you leave us desolate?"<sup>13</sup> How true it is that among those whom rumor-mongers would make your successor there is scarcely one worthy to sit at your footstool.<sup>14</sup> Certainly, even if the church had her freedom, no one at present seems suitable; no more so than if the sun were taken from the world and some one of the things now existing were sought to fill its place. But even so, "God is able of these stones to raise up children to Abraham."<sup>15</sup> To return from the common bereavement to my own case, however, I am utterly unaware of what my own situation may have become after you left England. In the interim my

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10 Cf. Cicero, De Amicitia 3. (Cf. Letter 139, Note 9.)

11 Cf. Canticles 2.2.7.

12 Archbishop Thomas.

13 Cf. Sulpicius Severus, Epistola ad Bassulum (Migne, Patrologia Latina, volume 20, column 182.)

14 Cf. Psalms 109.1; James 2.3.

15 Matthew 3.8; Luke 3.9.



hopes were higher. However, as I have often written, I do not deny that I have maintained the loyalty due to the church and the Archbishop of Canterbury; but I am prepared to show that in conscience I have acted in no way contrary to the honor due the King<sup>16</sup> or to his interests. Or, if I have somewhere been remiss, I am ready to make condign satisfaction to my king and lord as justice dictates, if he is willing. There is nothing I could do with integrity of conscience and reputation to regain his peace and favor, in fact, that I will not do gladly. May it please your Excellency, therefore, to instruct me in this respect for the honor of God, and through the Empress<sup>17</sup> and whom-ever else it seems convenient, to gain--without disgrace, of course--equitable terms of peace.

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<sup>16</sup> Henry II.

<sup>17</sup> Mathilda, the mother of Henry II. Cf. Letter 155.

Letter 141: John to Archdeacon Nicholas de Sigillo of Huntingdon

If my memory serves me, there was a class of men in the church of God under the name of archdeacons, for whom in your good judgment<sup>1</sup> you used to lament that every road to salvation had been closed. For, as you were wont to say, they love gifts, follow after recompense, are prone to do harm, delight in calumny, eat and drink the sins of the people, and "live" so entirely "on plunder" that "guest is not safe from host."<sup>2</sup> The most eminent among them speak of the law of the Lord, to be sure, but do not fulfill it. These things and the like you have been devout and sympathetic enough repeatedly to deplore as characteristic of that wretched condition of society. But now good men and your friends owe a debt of thanks to God and to my lord of Lincoln,<sup>3</sup> who has opened your eyes and shown you a way whereby this class of men may actually attain salvation

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1 Nicholas de Sigillo, who was advanced to the archdeaconry of Huntingdon in or shortly before 1165. "This," says Millor in his edition of John's correspondence, "is probably the most celebrated of John's letters, and it is amusing to learn that it is sometimes referred to by writers as a serious agitation of a philosophical question." On the popularity of archdeacons at this time, or the pronounced absence of it, confer Robertson, Becket Materials, volume 4, pp.95-96; John's Polycraticus (Webb's edition) book 1, pp.353-354; and Letters 18, 23, 52, 63, 64, 116 of Millor's edition.

2 Ovid, Metamorphoses 1.144; translation adapted from that of Frank Justus Miller, in Loeb Classical Library (Ovid: Metamorphoses, Book I); London, Wm. Heinemann, 1936.

3 Robert de Chesney, Bishop of Lincoln in 1148-1168.

and win the "polished crown"<sup>4</sup> of the elect. And not this alone, but one whereby they may even acquire that higher golden crown which marks those who scintillate in the ministry of preaching, just as it does those crowned with the martyr's laurel or verdant with the freshness of virginity. Surely "this is the Lord's doing,"<sup>5</sup> Who has opened the eyes of your blindness, and by laying bare the truth in the matter of archdeacons, has made you change that pernicious opinion of yours. But though archdeacons have good reason to rejoice now that they have won pardon from your former condemnation, be sure that I have felt no less happiness at your promotion than they have; for wherever I may be I am devoted wholeheartedly and eagerly to your honor and service in whatever your wise council may deign to suggest. It would be a really great privilege, should you wish to enjoin on me anything in my power, to test my affection for you in any way you please during my travels. As for the rest, the bearer of this letter has been long in the service of myself and my brother,<sup>6</sup> and has been found entirely loyal; he is skilled in writing, moreover, and has had experience in many useful arts. If out of love for me you should please to keep him in your own service and avail yourself of his, I would be greatly obliged, for at present I cannot provide for him as I would wish. I am

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4 Cr. Exodus 25.25.

5 Cr. Psalms 117.23; Matthew 21.42; Mark 12.11.

6 Richard. Cf. Letter 136, note 47.

confident, however, that his diligent work in your employ will merit the reward of needing henceforth neither my own nor anyone else's recommendation.

Letter 142: John Sarrazin to John of Salisbury

Having had occasion to observe that your wise and tranquil turn of mind finds pleasure in the books of the Blessed Dionysius,<sup>1</sup> I<sup>2</sup> have dedicated to you a translation of his book on the Angelic Hierarchy. At the first, however, I must admit that I have been unable to express in the Latin tongue the exact and polished style of so deeply learned and eloquent a man. The reason is that in Greek one finds certain compound words which signify a thing neatly and exactly, whereas in Latin these same things are designated by two or three words inelegantly, inaccurately, and sometimes insufficiently. Moreover, one finds connectives in Greek to give just the proper emphasis to a person or to something else, and by these same connectives much of one's thought can be woven together successively in a very finished manner. I say nothing of their happy constructions of participle and of articular infinitive; such precise and polished expression cannot be found in Latin. It also happens that, if words are translated in the order of their occurrence, they are either difficult to understand or seem to have a different meaning. On this account, I have pre-

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1 Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite. The work mentioned is his Celestial Hierarchy.

2 John Sarrazin, said to have been a monk of St. Denys, Paris; he was afterwards Abbot of Vercelli, and was one of the few men in Western Europe at this time who knew Greek. Cf. Letters 203, 219, 232, 233 (Millor's edition).

served the word order where I have thought it suitable, but in other places have changed it for an order more easily understood; and where for Greek words I could not discover Latin synonyms I have either twisted the Greek expression or have indicated the author's meaning as fully and as well as I could by several words in Latin. Often, too, where I have set down two or three Latin words for one in Greek, I have joined them as one, not because I wanted to make a single word out of them, but to make the treatise more clearly understood, and to show how much elegance it loses through the paucity of Latin vocabulary. The book is very helpful for an understanding of all the Sacred Scriptures which concern the actions or words of angels; for it includes all divine spirits in three hierarchies, dividing each hierarchy into three orders and discussing each of these in an exalted vein. It advances certain questions about angels and answers them, and at the end offers explanations of the figures ascribed to angels in Holy Scripture. Your good judgment will prompt you, I imagine, to compare this translation of mine with that of John Scotus.<sup>3</sup> If, then, I seem to have made perhaps a more apt translation than he, you will find me ready, at your request, to translate the book on the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy<sup>4</sup> as well.

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<sup>3</sup> John the Scot (Erigena). Cf. Migne, Patrologia Latina, volume 122, columns 1023 and the following.

<sup>4</sup> Another work of Dionysius, the pseudo-Areopagite.

Letter 143: John to Count Henry of Champagne

To the most serene Lord Henry, renowned and illustrious Count Palatine of Trois, John, deacon of the church of Salisbury, sends greeting and hopes for the continual happy fulfillment of his prayers.

The fact that, though outlawed and in exile, I address a person of such dignity, and that I dare even for a moment, particularly with my rude pen and lifeless diction, to recall to the exercises of the philosophers a man who is concentrating on the public weal, might easily be ascribed to rashness. But my small pretensions find encouragement by realising your own eminent goodness of heart and by remembering that I was almost more constrained than invited to write, through the influence wielded by your command,<sup>1</sup> which I am anxious to obey with whole heart and ready will in everything possible in the Lord. I admit, indeed, that I am as much indebted to you as I am certain--which many others are, too--that I added to many of my possessions in your domain, and that under your saintly father,<sup>2</sup> whose "memory is in benediction"<sup>3</sup> because "all the church of saints declares

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1 The request had been submitted to him first through his old teacher, Alberic of Rheims, and then through abbot Peter of Celle. See below, at the end of this paragraph.

2 Count Theobald IV of Blois, Champagne, and Troyes; brother of King Stephen of England and of Bishop Henry of Winchester.

3 Ecclesiasticus 45.1; 46.14.

his alms"<sup>4</sup> and praises his many virtues, I prospered under his protection more than all my contemporaries in France, though I was still a stripling.<sup>5</sup> And with the guidance of grace, without which there can be no advance in goodness, I achieved a position whence straightway, after God, stemmed the acquaintance with both the good men and good fortune of the world which I have enjoyed in plenty in my own land, beyond and contrary to my deserts, and more than men of the same age and country. This is common knowledge. I would easily have persuaded myself too, since it is credible as the reward of so deserving a father, that he would leave an heir who in pursuit of virtue and in magnificence of deed would exceed even himself, perfect though he be. But why do I say an heir has been left, when all the children who survive are such that any one of them seems not so much to mirror the integrity of a faultless departed count as to be like to a very king in his own right? The reason is this: according to the decree of the Most High, a "double portion"<sup>6</sup> resides in the first born, and he who has preceded his brothers in time has a twofold precedence, both in abundance of goods and in radiant and peerless virtues. Among these last, two outshine

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<sup>4</sup> Ecclesiasticus 21.11.

<sup>5</sup> John had studied in France, at Paris and Chartres, from 1136 to about 1148. It was probably through Peter of Celle, who may have been tutored by John, that John became acquainted with Count Theobald, whose patronage he afterwards enjoyed.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Deuteronomy 21.17.



the others, namely an outstanding generosity which all the world proclaims, and a surpassing humility which, for recreation in the straitened circumstances of my exile, I am happy to put to the test by the questions you have proposed about Sacred Literature. When, along with several other learned men, Alberic of Rheims, surnamed "from Venus' Gate," commonly called Valesia,<sup>7</sup> proposed these questions in your name, to tell the truth, my lord, I was dumbfounded. I could not believe his request until he brought in a man venerable and deeply devoted to you--the abbot of St. Remy<sup>8</sup>--who propounded the same questions, and with unflagging entreaties begged me to answer them out of love for you and for himself. He claimed for certain that you find nothing in life more agreeable than to converse with learned men on learned topics. He added in a confidential whisper that very often you incur the displeasure of the unlettered crowd because they cannot call you away from scholarly pursuits and plunge you into the squalls and uproar of business as they would wish; for such men consider foolishly wasted, every moment not spent in the petty affairs of the curia, the whirl of bustling soldiery, or the windy gusts of the lawcourts. They do not know that philosophy rests satisfied with only a

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7 John's teacher at Paris in 1137, after Abelard had stopped lecturing. Cf. John's Metalogicon 2.10.

8 Peter of Celle, at that time abbot of St. Remy, Rheims. Cf. Letter 152.

few to appreciate her, and does not stoop to entrust the integrity of her office to the judgment of the mob. I was exceedingly pleased, therefore, to receive the proposed questions for your sake, and, taking my opportunities and unavoidable exigencies into account, to reply as well as time will allow, though certainly not as fully as I would wish.

You have asked what I believe to be the number of books in the Old and New Testament, and who their authors are; what Jerome, in his letter to Paulinus the presbyter<sup>9</sup> about all the books of Scripture, calls the "table of the Sun"<sup>10</sup> seen in the sand by the philosopher Apollonius<sup>11</sup> when he was pursuing the study of literature; next, what it is that in the same letter he calls the Virgilian and the Homeric Patchworks;<sup>12</sup> and lastly, what is the source, and what the meaning, of a statement picked up and appropriated by many, that "the things which do not exist are more like to God than the things which do exist."<sup>13</sup> Your request included this too, that I explain all these things carefully and quickly, supporting my statements by the main arguments in their favor and by the testimony of authorities--all

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9 Cf. St. Jerome, Epistola ad Paulinum, (Letter 53, chapter 11); in Migne, Patrologia Latina vol. 22, col. 541.

10 Cf. below, Note 60.

11 Cf. below, Note 60.

12 Poems composed of Homeric lines or phrases, and likewise with Virgil. Confer Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll-Mittelhaus, Real-Encyclopaedie under Cento.

13 John Scotus Erigena, in the preface to his edition of the works of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Migne, Patrologia Latina, vol. 122, col. 1035.

this in a paper to be forwarded to you at the earliest opportunity.

Now your practical wisdom, whose keen insight, prompt eloquence on every occasion, and vast and retentive memory our age admires and venerates, will readily perceive how difficult, or rather impossible, a task this is. For, as Apuleius says in his book "On the God of Socrates,"<sup>14</sup> no one is ever praised at the same time for both dispatch and painstaking; and more than that, no amount of care can ever squeeze the bulky contents of important books into one paper. Cassiodorus, for example, has written a fine book on only the first two of your questions, the number of books, that is, and their authors.<sup>15</sup> But I am not sure to which side to incline in this question, and do not think it very important what one holds, since no danger to salvation is entailed here, whether one believes one way or the other. To wrangle fiercely over a thing which is neither help nor hindrance, or which is of little moment in either case--is that not the same as if friends were to fight savagely over goat's wool?<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, I think that if a man obstinately affirms something which is not agreed upon, he attacks faith more than

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14 The passage referred to is in the prologue of Apuleius, chapter 3.

15 Cf. Migne, P.L., vol. 70, coll. 1105-1150; the work bears the title "De Institutione Divinarum Litterarum."

16 That is, non-existent trifles. Cf. Horace, Epistles 1.18.15: "Alter rixatur de lana saepe caprina, Propugnat nugis armatus..."

if he were to refrain from rash definitions and leave, as undetermined, matters which cannot be fully investigated and over which he sees the Fathers themselves dissent. One's opinion, nevertheless, can and should incline to one view, so as to accept more readily what seems likely to everyone, to many, to the best known and eminent authorities, or to any one approved writer according to his own capability,<sup>17</sup> unless a certain or more probable reason, in matters that are subject to reason, indicates that the opposite view is true. I have inserted "subject to reason" because of those matters which entirely transcend all reason, and in which the Church has chosen to be foolish, that by her untaught faith she may grasp "Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God,"<sup>18</sup> rather than be deprived of wisdom and virtue along with the gentile philosophers who, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools,"<sup>19</sup> and decayed in their thinking to be "delivered up to a reprobate sense"<sup>20</sup> by arrogantly professing to know the wisdom of God. Inasmuch, therefore, as I have read many different opinions of the Fathers on the number of books of Scripture, I personally follow Jerome,<sup>21</sup> a doctor of the universal church whom I consider fin-

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17 Cf. Aristotle, Topics chapter 10.

18 Corinthians 1.1.24.

19 Romans 1.22.

20 Romans 1.28.

21 That is, his Praefatio in libros Samuel et Malachim, in Migne, P.L. vol. 28, col. 547.

est in working out the argument from the letters of the alphabet. With him, I am firmly persuaded that, just as there are admittedly twenty-two letters in the Hebrew alphabet, so there are twenty-two books in the Old Testament, and these in three distinct series. The first series contains the Pentateuch, namely the five books of Moses, divided according to the different sacraments,<sup>22</sup> even though it be agreed that the matter is continuous from a historical standpoint. These books are Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. The second series, containing the prophecies, consists of eight books. Why these should be called prophecies rather than the rest, whereas some of them relate bare history; and why others that include a prophecy, such as Daniel and the Book of Psalms, are not considered among the prophetic works, was not asked in your question, nor does the lack of time and paper permit me to explain--nor, in particular, does the insistence of the bearer. Josue and the Book of Judges, to which Ruth is added, are numbered among these books because in the days of the Judges a factual history is narrated; Samuel too, which is included in the first two books of Kings, and Malachim, in the two others; and following these each in one volume are Isaias, Jeremias,

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22 Perhaps in reference to the five Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church which all the faithful receive, or can receive; namely, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction.

Ezekiel, and the book of the twelve prophets.<sup>23</sup> The third series consists of the hagiographers, comprising the Psalter, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Canticle of Canticles, Daniel, Paralipomenon, Esdras, and Esther. Thus the total number of books of the Old Testament is twenty-two, though some think the book of Ruth and the Lamentations of Jeremias should be added to the Hagiographers, which would swell the grand total to twenty-four. As a matter of fact, all this is found in the prologue to the books of Kings, which St. Jerome calls the "helmeted beginning" of all the Scriptures which reached the Latin understanding from their Hebrew sources through his agency.<sup>24</sup> The Book of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobias, and Pastor, however, as the same Father asserts, are not reckoned in the canon; neither is the Book of Machabees, which is divided into two volumes, the first of which smacks of the Hebrew idiom, and the other of the Greek, an observation which is demonstrated by the style itself. I do not know whether the book entitled "Pastor" exists anywhere, but it is certain that Jerome and Bede<sup>25</sup> attest to having seen and read it. To these books are added eight volumes of the New Testament, namely the

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23 That is, the twelve shorter prophecies: Osee, Joel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Nahum, Habacuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, and Malachias.

24 Migne, P.L. vol. 28, col. 555.

25 Cf. De Sex Aetatibus Mundi lines 4090-4112; in Migne, P.L. vol. 93.

Gospel of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and the fifteen epistles of Paul in one volume, though the common and almost universal opinion is that there are only fourteen, ten to churches and four to individuals. There are fifteen, however, if the Epistle to the Hebrews is to be enumerated among those of Paul, which is where the doctor of doctors, Jerome, seems to place it in his preface, refuting the arguments of those who hold that it is not from Paul's hand. The fifteenth, finally, is the epistle written to the Laodiceans; and, as Jerome says, even though it be rejected by everyone, nevertheless it has been written by the Apostle. This opinion is not borrowed from others, but is corroborated by the testimony of the Apostle himself; for in his epistle to the Colossians he mentions the letter in these words, "When this epistle shall have been read in your assembly, cause that it be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that you read that which is of the Laodiceans."<sup>26</sup> The seven canonical epistles follow in one volume, then the Acts of the Apostles, and finally the Apocalypse. It is the honored and undoubted tradition of the Church, then, that this is the number of books which are admitted in the canon of the Sacred Scriptures; and its authority is so powerful in all quarters, that to sound minds no room is left for contradiction or for doubt that these Scriptures have been written by the

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<sup>26</sup> Colossians 4.16.

finger of God. A person is rightly and deservedly condemned as a reprobate, therefore, if in verbal and social intercourse, and especially in the forum of the faithful, he does not admit publicly and without reserve "the silver" of this divine word, which has been "tried by the fire" of the Holy Ghost, "purged" from all earthly dross, "and refined seven times" from stain.<sup>27</sup> Faith may rest securely in these, then, as well as in other writings which have a proven and suitable basis in them, for only an infidel or heretic would dare argue against them. Opinions vary as to the authors of the books, although the prevailing one in the Church holds that each book has been written throughout by the person mentioned in the title. Borrowing from Jerome, Isidore, in the sixth book of his *Etymologies*, chapter Second,<sup>28</sup> uses the letters of the alphabet to explain the system of titles and authors of the books. Rhabanus too, in his book "On Ecclesiastical Offices,"<sup>29</sup> which some call "On the Sacraments," and Cassiodorus in his work "On the Arrangement of the Sacred Scriptures,"<sup>30</sup> pursue the arguments bearing on this point in greater detail. Cassiodorus, for one, not only discusses the canonical Scriptures and the authors of the works, but true to form in his eloquent way discourses on their com-

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27 Cf. Psalms 11.7.

28 Etymologies, Migne, P.L. vol. 82, col. 230.

29 Migne, P. L. vol. 107, col. 365; and vol. 112, col. 1193.

30 Cf. above, note 15.



mentators. Each of the Fathers, moreover, when intending to explain some book in his tracts, usually, as reason would require, treats first of the author and his subject, the intention, cause, and title of the book, and whatever else may make for an easier understanding for hearers and readers of the work which follows. They do this with due regard for time and place, and for those to whom their treatise is directed, so that they may dispense in season a measure of saving food to the body of the evangelical institution of the family of God;<sup>31</sup> for, as Palladius says, a great part of prudence lies in gauging beforehand, in the light of reason, the personality of the man to whom one is writing.<sup>32</sup> For this reason, I myself deliberately refrain from copying out the common opinion, and turn now to other matters, unless perhaps it is Your Excellency's will that I also describe this in greater detail. Meanwhile, however, Your Excellency may be certain that Philo, whom Jerome recalls in the tenth chapter of his book "On Famous Men,"<sup>33</sup> disagrees with the others, in a book entitled "Why the Names of Some Persons in Scripture have been Changed."<sup>34</sup>

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31 Cf. Matthew 24.45; Luke 12.42.

32 A disciple (368 ? - 430 A.D.) of Evagrius of Pontus, ordained to the See of Helenopolis by St. John Chrysostom. Cf. Proemium ad Historiam Lausiacam, and Epistola ad Lausiam, Migne, P.L. vol. 34, col. 995-1006.

33 Cf. Jerome, De Viris Illustribus chapter 11; in Migne, P.L. vol. 23, coll. 625 and following.

34 Migne, P.L. vol. 23, col. 627.

Theophilus of Alexandria follows him in his "Chronicles,"<sup>35</sup> as does Epiphanius, Bishop of Constantia of Cyprus, in his book "Of Famous Men,"<sup>36</sup> a fact attested by Theodorus,<sup>37</sup> who translated their works from the Greek into cultured Latin prose. He says that both Gamaliel,<sup>38</sup> at whose feet the Apostle rejoiced to have learned the law, and the public declaration of the Hebrews, who are very accurate judges of the letter of the law, agree in the opinion of Philo. But, not to dilate when I should be hurrying on to other things, let me give you the opinion of these men too. It is this: Moses wrote the Pentateuch, though they do not agree about the end of Deuteronomy, where his death is described.<sup>39</sup>

Some assert that even this detail was written in by Moses himself with prophetic certitude, just as were the details he prefaced at the beginning regarding the creation of the world and the things he prophesied in his blessings on the patriarchs;<sup>40</sup> others say that this particular was added by Josue, and others, by Esdras. Josue (they say) wrote the book which is named from him, but Samuel wrote Sophthim, that is, the Book of Judges, as well as the Book of Ruth and the part of the Book of Kings which bears

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35 The works of Theophilus are in Migne, Patrologia Graeca vol. 65; the "Chronica" does not seem to be extant.

36 Cf. Migne, P.G. vols. 41, 43 for his works; the "de Viris Illustribus" does not seem to be extant.

37 An otherwise unknown translator.

38 Cf. Acts 22.3.

39 Cf. Deuteronomy 34.5.

40 Cf. Deuteronomy 33.1 and following.

his name. David composed the rest, except lastly for Malachim, that is, the second two books of Kings; this was written by Jeremias and published by him together with his Lamentations. None of this is contradicted by the common opinion. Ezechias and the learned men whom he gathered about him in a school of virtue and culture during the fifteen years God prolonged his life,<sup>41</sup> was free to give his time to sacred studies, and collected the prophecies of Isaias in one volume. It appears from his language that the prophet declaimed these in public instead of writing them down, a view which is not at variance with the fact that he was commanded to "write in a great book with a man's pen";<sup>42</sup> for that book was already written and great. Nor, so they say, do the prophecies taken up by his listeners and arranged by the above-mentioned king pertain to this collection of his own prophecies. The same men also compiled the Proverbs, previously uttered by Solomon and made common knowledge in the same way, as happens, by those who heard them. For this reason, (they say) the proverbs of Solomon are also included among these same Proverbs, translated by the servants of Ezechias, king of Juda. These men are said to have "translated" them, because they transferred them with public authority from one place to another, so to speak--from common usage and perhaps from the private papers

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Kings 4.20.1; Paralipomenon 2.32.24.

<sup>42</sup> Isaias 8.1.

of individuals, into the canon of the Scriptures. This tradition draws further support from what is written in the Third Book of Kings: "Solomon spoke 3,000 parables, and his poems were one thousand and five and he discoursed from the cedar of Libanus unto the hyssop," etc.;<sup>43</sup> whence it is concluded that he spoke all this rather than wrote it. Some connect his poems with the Canticle of Canticles, a discourse on natural things proceeding from the greatest to the least, as a foretoken of the things Ecclesiastes preaches for all the world to hear. But we can treat of this at another time. The king of Jerusalem, Ezechias, and his fellow-scholars, are said to have added Ecclesiastes and the Canticle of Canticles to the canon of the Scriptures, although they claim that Solomon is the author, and consider him the original composer and a sort of herald of their value for the public. This, however, is at odds with the common opinion; but whether it is contrary to the truth, let him who knows tell us. Aggeus, Zacharias, and Malachias, aided by fifteen of the most trustworthy men of the synagogue, compiled the prophecies of Ezechiel. For though Ezechiel himself publicized and fixed in the memory of his hearers the visions he did not want to write in an unholy country, lest he profane sacred things, still he directed that they be written in the land of the Lord. The psalm alludes to this suspension, say-

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<sup>43</sup> Kings 3.5.32.

ing: "On the willow in the midst thereof we hung up our instruments," and so on.<sup>44</sup> The common opinion, moreover, as Isidore attests,<sup>45</sup> agrees with this. The same prophets wrote the Book of Daniel, for Daniel too refrained from any writing, both for the reason advanced in the case of Ezechiel, and because he was impeded by his administration of public affairs. The same three prophets and their fellow scholars also wrote the Book of Esther, which common opinion holds was written by Esdras; and the book of the twelve prophets themselves. The above-mentioned Philo, then, with his followers already named, acclaim these three prophets as the authors of this last book and of the preceding ones, as I have said. The reason given is that, since the visions of the twelve (prophets) were brief, each prophet thought it sufficient to publicize them by word of mouth, and thus to entrust them to other writers, especially since some of the twelve were rustics of shepherds, or devoted to other duties, and are believed to have been illiterate. David composed the Book of Psalms, employing from time to time the services of men acknowledged in some of the titles. Although these men, ten or them, composed some of the psalms, which is not gainsaid by the common opinion recorded by Isidore,<sup>46</sup> nevertheless all the psalms are said to be David's since he lent them his authority according to what Justinian

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<sup>44</sup> Psalms 136.2.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Migne, P.L. vol. 82, col. 232.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Migne, P.L. vol. 83, col. 747, 163.

teaches in the Code, "We rightly make ours all things to which we impart our authority, since all authority is imparted to them by us."<sup>47</sup> Certainly he who amends a work that is shoddily done is more to be praised than the man who first composed it. Esdras wrote the book which bears his name, and also Paralipomenon, up to his day; the rest of it was written by very wise and reliable men of the synagogue whose members rebuilt the temple in Jerusalem. According to these men, Moses wrote the Book of Job, a question about which common opinion ventures no commitment, though it is more inclined to the view that blessed Job himself wrote his own book, after he had overcome the temptations to which he had been subjected. Common opinion, moreover, does not indicate what authors wrote Tobias, Judith, and the Book of Macchabees, which are not admitted in the canon, nor do the followers of Philo make any mention of these; the books have been piously admitted, however, for their edification in matters of faith and devotion. Philo composed the Book of Wisdom, and is called the Pseudographus, not because he was a poor scribe, but a poor inscriber. The book is actually entitled "The Wisdom of Solomon," although Solomon did not publish it; it is called Solomon's rather for the style in which Philo clothed it, and the finely cultured usages in which he fashions his work after Solomon. Jesus, the son of Sirach, wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus, a book which itself is called

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<sup>47</sup> Cf. the Code of Justinian.

Solomon's because of similarity of style and expression. In the same way, conversely, the Latins commonly say that there are some things in the Book of Wisdom which clearly are found not there, but in the Book of Proverbs. Hence in the church the section of the Proverbs which begins, "Who shall find a valiant woman?"<sup>48</sup> bears the title "Wisdom."

So much for the number and authors of the books of the Old Testament, wherein the above-mentioned writers differ to some extent with the common opinion. The number of books in the New Testament and their authors are certain; there is practically no question about either. Each evangelist, naturally, published his own volume; Paul composed his own epistles, even though some suspect that the one addressed to the Hebrews was by Barnabas or Clement.<sup>49</sup> The canonical epistles were written by those whose names are in their titles, although there is some question about the last two epistles of John.<sup>50</sup> As to the Acts of the Apostles, it is clear from their faithful, vigorous, wholesome style that they were set down by Luke. Some think the Apocalypse was composed by John the Apostle; others, as St. Jerome, the father of letters, reports,<sup>51</sup> think that it was composed by a very holy

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<sup>48</sup> Proverbs 31.10

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Jerome, De Viris Illustribus chapter 59; in Migne, P.L. vol. 23, col. 669.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Jerome, De Viris Illustribus chapter 59; in Migne, P.L. vol. 23, col. 623.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Migne, P.L. vol. 23, col. 637.

priest, John of Ephesus. As far as the belief of the church is concerned, however, the Apostle is preferred. This, then, is what has been said from time to time about the number and authors of the books of the New Testament. If one wishes to know the origin of these arguments, he should read the letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus on the sacred books, for, by my conscience, nothing better or clearer can be found.<sup>52</sup>

But what need is there, Serenest Lord, to examine these and other opinions, and to investigate authors, when it is agreed that there is one Author of all the Sacred Scriptures: the Holy Ghost? For in his "Moralia"<sup>53</sup> St. Gregory very truly and forcefully teaches that, since it is clear that the Holy Ghost is the author of the Book of St. Job, which he was explaining, then to inquire afterwards about the man who wrote the book puts one in the same position as if, when the writer of a book is certain, he were to wonder about the pen with which it was written. The important thing, therefore, is not whether the true writers of the Scriptures are known, but whether the Scriptures themselves are truly understood; and even more, whether they are devoutly and faithfully carried out. "For not the hearers of the law are just before God," as the Apostle says, "but the doers."<sup>54</sup> To this end, it is best to engage oneself in the study of Scripture, for, as

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52 Cf. above, Note 9.

53 Cf. Migne, P.L. vol. 75, col. 517.

54 Romans 2.13; cf. James 1.22.



Truth itself says through its most trustworthy instrument, "Love the knowledge of the Scriptures, and you will not love the failings of the flesh,"<sup>55</sup> especially in the face of the fact that "Leisure without study is death; it is a tomb for the living man."<sup>56</sup>

I come now to the third question: "What is that "table of the Sun" in the sand, so famous among the gymnosophists, and seen there by Apollonius,<sup>57</sup> an investigator of truth and eager devotee of learning? On this matter, I have consulted everyone in France who seems eminent in Scriptural studies; but since the history of the gentiles has been a closed book to them, I cannot much blame them if they could not teach what they had not learned. Some of them, however, revealed their ignorance quite shamelessly, and convinced one by their inadequate replies only of this, that they had learned nothing from the doctors they had hired for long periods and at high fees. This story, however, which Jerome, rich in truth and learning, touches upon in the letter mentioned above,<sup>58</sup> is found in Valerius Maximus, book iii, chapter 1, under the title "Moderation."<sup>59</sup> A man, so Valerius says, happened to

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55 Jerome, epistle 125, chapter 11; in Migne, P.L. vol. 22, col. 1078. Translation from F. A. Wright: Select Letters of St. Jerome; Loeb Classical Library, London, Wm. Heinemann, 1933.

56 Seneca, Epistulae Morales 82.3; translation from Richard M. Gummere, in Seneca: Epistulae Morales (3 vols.) Volume II, Loeb Classical Library, London, Wm. Heinemann, 1930.

57 Cf. below, Note 60.

58 Cf. above, Note 9.

59 In his work "Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium" 4.1.

buy beforehand the catch of some dragnet-fishermen in the region of Miletus. But as a Delphic table of gold, of great price, was drawn forth with the catch a dispute arose, the fishermen affirming that they had sold only the catch of fish, whereas the buyer said that he had bought the proceeds of the catch outright. When the people of the city heard the suit, they decided because of the novelty and importance of the matter to refer it to a consultation with the Delphic Apollo. When he was consulted, he answered that the table should be given to the man who excelled all others in wisdom, and that it would prove baneful and injurious to anyone else who accepted. Accordingly, since in the judgment of the listeners Thales of Miletus was considered the wisest of the seven whom Greece honored particularly at that time, they informed him that he could take possession of the aforesaid table. But when he learned of the consultation and the reply of Apollo, he said, with prudent humility, that the man singled out by the oracle was not himself, but Bias of Priene. Bias was also approached, just as Thales had been, and in the same way he passed the condition on to Pittacus of Mitylene. Now all this while the table was lying in the sand. Because of the novelty of the affair and the restraint of the wise men, and because none of the people dared to fall upon gold which the sages were so industriously avoiding, the rumor which heralds such things spread far and wide the word of an occurrence which was even more perplexing than

marvellous. The table therefore became extremely famous, while the offer of it was passing down the line from one wise man to another, until it came the turn of Solon. At long last, he conferred both the title of all-embracing wisdom and the gift offered on Apollo, since in his person the sun is worshipped, which sees all things and so pervades the universe with its fiery essence that nothing can be hidden from it. It is for this reason that the table in the sand which Apollonius examined while he was pursuing the study of literature is called the Table of the Sun.

Two of the five questions proposed still remain to be explained, but there is neither occasion nor leisure to answer them. If your Excellency thinks best, of course, I will be happy to attempt them, and will count it my good fortune if heaven grants me the opportunity to serve your Honor's wishes in any way. "The peasant loves the farmer; the soldier, him who wages war; the sailor loves the pilot of the swaying ship";<sup>60</sup> and shall not professors of learning love a prince who studies philosophy and who welcomes and fosters the true pursuits of the learned? I do not deny that an unlettered prince can now and then help the commonwealth, but if he attempts properly to attain an equal footing with men of learning, he will rarely or never climb the heights. For, as our Vegetius says, "No one should know more or better than

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<sup>60</sup> Ovid, Ex Ponto 5.61; translation from A. L. Wheeler, Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto, Loeb Classical Library, London, Wm. Heinemann, 1924.

a prince, whose knowledge can benefit all his subjects."<sup>61</sup>

I doubt not that different people will have different opinions about the things written here, but I shall have attained my end if you find this letter pleasing; for, just as there is no reason for it to please by its own grace, so there is no reason why it should displease, considering the writer's devotion. Nor do I fear the judgment of those who form rash decisions before they hear a thing through, for I recall that the Scripture says, "He that answereth before he heareth sheweth himself to be a fool, and worthy of confusion."<sup>62</sup> You also know, surely, the kind of men to whom Solomon's proverb applies, asserting that "a fool receiveth not the words of prudence, unless thou say those things which are in his heart."<sup>63</sup> But I will not believe that my devoted meanness is not despised, most distinguished Count, until Your Eminence--may the Almighty bless and conserve you for long years to come--will deign to enjoin upon me some one of the things within my powers. You will find me prompt to obey your commands faithfully in every respect. May your august fame fare ever well, illustrious one; may it flourish, and, to the envy of all your enemies, prosper continually in the Lord.

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61 Vegetius Renatus, De Re Militari, 1.

62 Proverbs 18.13.

63 Proverbs 18.2.

Letter 144: John to Archbishop Thomas Becket

From the account given by the bearer of this letter, and from the letters my friends have sent me from England, you will be able to know the condition of the Church in the kingdom. I am also sending you a letter which the Bishop of Bayeux<sup>1</sup> forwarded to me by a messenger I had dispatched to him to learn my brother's<sup>2</sup> condition and the state of our affairs, for the king had turned over to the Bishop our revenues from the bishopric of Salisbury. Our revenues from the other churches he committed partly to the Bishop of London<sup>3</sup> and partly to others; these men, what is more, are proving so occupied that my brother and I can get nothing from these sources, nor can anyone else in our name. Men returning from that part of the country report, moreover, that our property is falling to pieces, and that neither church nor home is in repair. I wrote to the Bishop of London himself concerning this, and to the bishops of Hereford,<sup>4</sup> Worcester,<sup>5</sup> and Chichester,<sup>6</sup> and to the archdeacon of Poitiers.<sup>7</sup> The Bishop of Chichester lamented his fall from the king's favor, and added the remark that "only the Bishop of London is called by his own name." None of the others

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1 Henry, Bishop of Bayeux 1164-1205.

2 John's brother Richard, who, like John himself, held an Exeter canonry.

3 Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London 1163-1188.

4 Robert Melun, bishop of Hereford 1163-1167.

5 Roger Fitz, Count bishop of Worcester 1164-1179.

6 Hilary, bishop of Chichester 1147-1169.

7 Richard of Ilchester, afterwards bishop of Winchester 1174-1188.

replied. Still I expect that they will send at least some word to me, their old friend, when my messenger returns. I have not heard anything from Kent, either, although I did hear, after my servant came back from you, that the Scottish king had written to you, and that he had effected your peace with the king. But I could hardly believe this report, both because I hear that the Scottish king<sup>8</sup> has not approached our own, and because the affair seems to have had such a violent beginning that only a miracle could further it by letter. They say, too, that the Count of Flanders,<sup>9</sup> working for your reconciliation at the request of the empress<sup>10</sup> and the queen,<sup>11</sup> has sent influential representatives to the king, and that these have returned; but I am not sure what report they brought back. In addition to this, as I hear, some of your household have returned to you from the Welsh campaign.<sup>12</sup> When you answer this, then, please tell me about the messenger whom the Scottish king sent to you, about the envoys dispatched by the Count of Flanders to the king, what you have heard about my lord king and the Welsh, and whatever news of my lord Pope has reached

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8 Malcolm IV.

9 Count Philip of Flanders.

10 Matilda, mother of Henry II. Cf. Letters 145, 155.

11 Eleanor, Wife of Henry II. Cf. Letter 135.

12 A fruitless campaign in the first part of 1165. Birdgeman (Princes of South Wales, p.48), and Eyton (Itinera Henrici II, pp. 79, 82), divide the campaign into two sections, one in May and the other in July of that year.

your ears after his arrival at Montpellier.<sup>13</sup> I hope to hear good tidings of him, the more so because the majority of those among whom I am staying prophesy reverses. They say that the soldiers of Pisa, Geneva, and Arelate have taken to sea at the command of the Teuton despot<sup>14</sup> to set a trap for him, and that they are engaged in piracy--so much so that no one at all may sail on that sea<sup>15</sup> without their safeconduct. It is even said that the Teuton would like to thrust into the church of Mainz that apostate of his, not Christian but anti-Christ,<sup>16</sup> who has succeeded Rainold<sup>17</sup> in the office of the chancery, and in the persecution of the church, the crushing and butchery of whole peoples, and the overthrow of organized society. There is a report that he merited this promotion for subduing all of Tuscany<sup>18</sup> for the Teutons, and Campania as well, so that nothing outside the city walls, neither in the fields, the olive gardens, nor the vineyards, is left to the Romans. Hence, they say, besieged and somewhat weakened by hunger, by dint of earnest entreaties and cash payments the populace has secured a truce up until the Feast of St. Michael;<sup>19</sup>

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13 Alexander III and his court had taken refuge in France from Barbarossa. Conrer Cambridge Medieval History, vol. V, pp. 617 and following.

14 Frederick Barbarossa.

15 That is, the shores of the Mediterranean near those places.

16 A play on the name of Christian of Buch, bishop of Mainz 1167-1183. The archbishop-elect, Conrad of Wittelsbach, was dispossessed in May, 1165, by Barbarossa.

17 Rainold or Dassel, archbishop of Cologne 1159-1167.

18 This occurred in August, 1165.

19 September 29th.

at that time, unless my lord Pope arrives and comes to their aid, they will receive Guy of Crema<sup>20</sup> and will take the oath according to the Teutonic formula. And, not to omit anything, they claim that some Teuton prophetesses are making prophecies<sup>21</sup> to fan the Teuton madness still higher, and to give the schismatics heart. But surely God has the power to trample down the pride of Moab,<sup>22</sup> who opposes the Lord with insolent vaunting, and whose arrogance is greater than his courage. With things in such a turmoil, then, I think there is nothing more salutary than to take refuge in the clemency of Christ; for even though He is being crucified again, He is not being killed, but will cause His crucifiers to be crucified still more painfully, in the vengeance of the dove.<sup>23</sup> He is already crucifying them in part, calling against them the sword and pestilence, and His other angels as well, through whom He punishes still more gloriously those who glory fiercely in themselves against Him. If those loyal to the holy see of Canterbury

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20 The anti-pope Paschal III, who succeeded the anti-pope Victor IV in 1164.

21 The nuns St. Hildegard of Bingen (died 1179) and Elizabeth of Schoenau (died 1165). A contemporary annalist writes of them, "In these days God made manifest His power through the frail sex, in the two maidens Hildegard and Elizabeth, whom He filled with a prophetic spirit, making many kinds of visions apparent to them through His messages which are to be seen in writing." (Quoted in Millor's edition of John's Letters.) Cf. Annales Palidenses, anno 1158, apud Mon. Germ. SS., xvi.90. (Cited by Eckenstein, Woman Under Monasticism, p. 257.)

22 Cf. Genesis 19.37, Deuteronomy 2.9.

23 Cf. Jeremias 25.38; and the accompanying note in the Douay Version published by P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1911.



stand by you--and it would be well to keep them constantly in mind--at God's command this tempest will subside to our advantage, and happily we will make the desired port. I have not lost hope that our patrons will be beneficent toward us if we "set our hearts upon our ways,"<sup>24</sup> and if we so engage ourselves in the practice of the divine law that we are no less eager to do than to hear it. For, as some wise man says, "Practical experience is the taskmaster of intelligence." May you and yours fare well. Please send back my messenger quickly.

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24 Cf. Aggaeus 1.7.

Letter 145: John to Archbishop Thomas Becket

Recently I tried to interest and encourage my lord Pope,<sup>1</sup> and confided with some enthusiasm that I thought I knew of a way to restore peace for himself and for you. However, he replied that he had hopes of peace from the words of the Empress,<sup>2</sup> as she had sent over the abbot of St. Mary de Voto,<sup>3</sup> who promised that the English king<sup>4</sup> could be easily persuaded to do whatever my lord Pope might wish, if he himself were willing to league himself with the kings, as he has long been asked to do. Since my lord Pope is anxious for this, and the French king<sup>5</sup> seemed quite amenable, my lord Pope seemed certain of a parley between the kings and himself. As a matter of fact, he had already invited the French king to celebrate the feast of the Purification<sup>6</sup> with him. On my return I met his majesty near Paris, and spoke with him for some time. Although he compassionated you and your fellow exiles and blamed my lord king for his obstinacy, still he seemed to speak less enthusi-

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1 Alexander III. Cf. Letters 136, 144, etc.

2 Matilda, mother of Henry II; she died at Rouen, September 10, 1167. Cf. Letter 144.

3 One St. Mary de Voto (or "Vaeu") was an abbey of Canons regular near Cherbourg, in the diocese of Coutances. Another, which seems to be the one meant here, was a Cistercian abbey in the diocese of Rouen. Richard de Bloseville was the abbot. (Cf. Rerum Gall. et Franc. SS 16.510.)

4 Henry II.

5 Louis VII.

6 February 2nd.

astically of your cause than he has usually done. And when I continued trying to stir him to action, he answered that he esteemed your person tenderly enough, and approved your cause, but feared that if under his influence my lord Pope should do something to alienate the English king, the Roman church would blame him for everything else, since they had lost so great a friend on his account. He urged this consideration repeatedly. I mulled it over thoughtfully, trying to get a mental picture of our prospects if the English king were to be present. I advanced many arguments in his favor and many against you; and, as he acts, I cajoled, promised, offered compromises, to study his influence on those who were amenable and those who hesitated. And this especially in view of his having won over the royal cup-bearer,<sup>7</sup> and--more important--Count Robert.<sup>8</sup> For his wife,<sup>9</sup> a kinswoman of my abbot,<sup>10</sup> recently sent over to England, together with some other trinkets, three hundred yards of Rheimish wool to the king, to make shirts. She is certainly a prudent woman, and in addition to the gifts which she and her husband frequently receive, she hopes that the king will provide marriages among the nobility for their many children. The

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7 Guy of Senlis.

8 Robert of Dreux, brother of Louis VII and of Archbishop Henry of Rheims.

9 Agnes of Braine, daughter of Guy of Dampierre.

10 Peter of Celle.

archbishop of Rheims,<sup>11</sup> loves Count Robert very tenderly, and his children too. I am afraid, consequently, that when it comes to the test, fortune will easily influence friends of this sort. My advice, wish, and single prayer, therefore, is that you turn your mind wholly to the Lord and to the support of prayer; for, as it is written in Proverbs, "the name of the Lord is a strong tower,"<sup>12</sup> and if a man take refuge in it he is freed from all distress. In the meanwhile lay aside all other occupations as much as you can; even though they may often seem necessary, still what I am urging should be preferred, because it is even more necessary. The laws and the canons are helpful, of course,<sup>13</sup> but, believe me, this is not the kind of help you need now. "Not sights like these does this hour demand."<sup>14</sup> In fact, they arouse more curiosity than devotion. In the distress of the people, as it is written, "Between the porch and the altar the priests" and "the Lord's ministers shall weep," saying, "Spare, O Lord, spare thy people."<sup>15</sup> Don't you remember that? "I was exercised and I swept my

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<sup>11</sup> Henry, brother of Count Robert. (Cf. Note 8.)

<sup>12</sup> Proverbs 18.10.

<sup>13</sup> Archbishop Thomas was studying canon law under the guidance of Lombard of Piacenza.

<sup>14</sup> Virgil, Aeneid 6.37; translation by H. Rushton Fairclough in Loeb Classical Library (Virgil I), London, Wm. Heinemann, 1930. Cf. Aeneid 2.251.

<sup>15</sup> Cr. Joel 2.17. John has added "et" between "sacerdotes" and "ministri," and has changed "et dicent" to "dicentes"; the corresponding words in the English have not been included in quotation marks.

spirit," "in the day of my trouble" seeking "God with my hands,"<sup>16</sup> says the prophet, to teach us that spiritual exercises and the cleansing effect of calamity turn away the scourge of conscience and win the mercy of God. Who arises in remorse of conscience after reading the law, or even the canons? Even more: a scholar's exercises sometimes swell his knowledge to a very tumor, but they rarely or never enkindle his devotion. I would rather have you meditate on the Psalms, or page through the books of St. Gregory's "Moralia,"<sup>17</sup> than philosophize after the fashion of the scholastics. It is helpful to confer about one's character with some spiritual adviser whose example can inspire, rather than to examine and dissect controversial branches of profane learning. God knows the intent and devotion with which I suggest this; receive it as you please. But if you follow this course, God will be your helper, and you will not have to fear what man may devise. God Himself knows that in the present distress you can, as I think, place your hope in no man. I have heard, however, that the king of France approached my lord Pope on your behalf, and that

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16 A combination of two passages from Psalms 76; the first part, from verse 7, reads in the Douay Version, "I was exercised, and I swept my spirit"; the second, from Verse 3, "In the day of my trouble I sought God, with my hands lifted up to Him in the night...."

17 In Migne, Patrologia Latina volume 75.

he thanked the monks of Pontigny.<sup>18</sup> And I have heard that you wrote to the Archbishop of Rheims to have your property in Flanders administered in his own name, inasmuch as it was going to be his own; but I very much doubt if this be true. They say further, that Brother Hugh of St. Benedict has returned from England, and some others with him, to discharge the legation of our king to my lord Pope and the king of France; I am anxious to know what report they brought. There is also a rumor that there was an earthquake in England recently in the neighborhood of Canterbury, London, and Winchester, but I am not satisfied of its truth. It is said, too, that the bishops or the dioceses in which your churches lie are at present exercising jurisdiction in them, because your clergy is dumb-founded and does not dare utter a syllable now. I wonder if this is true, even though I could easily believe the bishops would willingly worm their way in somehow or other, so that they could sometime say they had been in possession. I hear this method was followed during the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, when Seffride of Chichester<sup>19</sup> took over the churches for which his successor is now fighting.<sup>20</sup> And, incredible as

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18 The Cistercian monks of Pontigny, with whom Thomas had taken refuge.

19 Bishop of Chichester 1125-1145. The see of Canterbury was vacant from the death of William Corbel, November 26, 1136, until the accession of Theobald, January 8, 1139.

20 Hilary, Bishop of Chichester 1147-1169.

it may seem that they should do this, yet it seems advisable to me that you should take precautions through my lord Pope and secure letters patent from him, so that nothing usurped against the see of Canterbury in the present storm may harm her for the future. But you yourself hear what is happening in England more often and on surer authority than I do. Please let me know, then, by the bearer of this letter, of your own situation and that of the curia,<sup>21</sup> and whether the abbot whom my lord Pope sent over to England has returned as yet.<sup>22</sup> Do not forget what you said at Lyons,<sup>23</sup> when you asked help of lord Henry of Pisa.<sup>24</sup> Farewell, and remember how active in the service of God your predecessor was on the very day he died.<sup>25</sup> My best wishes to all your household. My abbot wishes to be remembered, as does the Bishop of Chalons,<sup>26</sup> whom I have asked to receive one of your clerics. He agreed willingly, and asked only that you send a man of good character; even so, he will receive whomsoever you send him. But if

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21 With Pope Alexander III in France. Cf. Letter 136.

22 Philip, abbot of L'Aumone, a Cistercian abbey near Blois.

23 Thomas had recommended Guichard for the see of Lyons in place of Drogo, the bishop-elect, who was never consecrated. Guichard was consecrated on August 8, 1165, but did not get possession of his see until November, 1167. Cf. Letter 231 or Millor's edition. Cf. also Thomas' letter to Louis VII, in Robertson, Becket Materials v.199; and Rerum Gall. et Franc. Script. 16.125, 130, 134.

24 Cardinal of Saints Nereus and Achilleus.

25 Theobald, who died April 18, 1161.

26 Guido III, de Joinville, bishop of Chalons-sur-Marne, 1164-1190. Cf. Letter 137.

you do send one anywhere, instruct him to conduct himself humbly, for the men of this kingdom are humble.



Letter 146: John to his Half-Brother Robert

In addition to the remembrance of you<sup>1</sup> which fraternal affection often excites in me, the remarkable token of loyalty and devotion you have sent me will afford, time and again, a reason for wishing you joy, and a pleasant opportunity for correspondence.<sup>2</sup> For, if we look rather closely at its properties (as archdeacon Baldwin,<sup>3</sup> Roger of Sudbury,<sup>4</sup> and our little brother<sup>5</sup> will not deny), the very material of the gift clearly shows the ruling thought in the heart of the sender. Gold, without stain, rich to lavishness, undiminished by hammer or flame, unsoilable in that it permits no rust (whence it is the custodian of other metals)--does not this symbolize a stainless faith, rich and lavish affection, staunchness in adversity, and a restraint in the midst of plenty which maintains virtue? For the nature of gold, as you know better than I from the knowledge you have gained in the natural sciences, is actually as I have described it. For this reason, prudent men who wish to store their money without loss, mix gold with the silver, to save the silver from rust by its association with the gold.

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1 Robert, half-brother of John. Cf. Letters 160, 163, 171.

2 Robert had evidently sent John a signet ring, made of silver and gold, and set with a hyacinth, to judge by the description given in this playful (?) letter.

3 Archdeacon of Totnes.

4 A cleric of Exeter. Cf. Letter 161.

5 Richard, John's brother and Robert's half-brother. Cf. Letter 136.

Next, the circular form of the gift is a sign of perfection,<sup>6</sup> and shows that the sender possesses in their entirety the virtues described above. The brilliancy of the stone is a symbol of resplendent prudence and learning; and surely the heavenly color itself points unmistakably to the direction in which, in all his actions, the heart of the sender particularly tends. The very name of the stone, moreover, denotes grace of word and work; for "hyacinth," if we trace its Grecian origin, is translated as "perfect flower," or "flowering everywhere"--"hya" denoting "universal," and "cinthus" translated as "flower." And lest in this stormy crisis faith should waver, or reason be seduced by human suasion, the inscription strengthens the faith and enlightens the reason, by cleansing reason from error and entrusting it to Christ, and ascribing to Christ the victory, lest the faith of a Christian languish from weakness.<sup>7</sup> By these two words, then, faith is freed from weakness, and reason from error. And because the end of the fight is victory, and the fruit of victory is the crown, the inscription consequently ascribes to Christ the sovereign power, to show that those who have endured the perils and hardships of the struggle with Christ will rule with Him, and those who have opposed Him will

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6 Cf. the Peripatetic doctrine, that a circle is the figure of perfection.

7 From the homily which John now proceeds to deliver, it is clear that the ring was inscribed with the common formula: "Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat."

be worn away by a double measure of confusion and contrition, when "justice be turned into judgment."<sup>8</sup> Certainly "the king's honor loveth judgment,"<sup>9</sup> and his "eyes behold" what is "equitable,"<sup>10</sup> because they love it; for "where love is, there is the eye."<sup>11</sup> This, then, is the construction I have put on the two phrases. The third repeats the name of Christ and speaks with restraint of the dignity of His rule, with this intent, I think: to join to Christ the heart of him who wears the ring, as to the Victor over His persecutors and as to the King of kings, and to unite that heart to Him inseparably. It shows, too, that it is not the emperor of today<sup>12</sup> with whom Christ is concerned, when as a schismatic he plots the theft of the Roman Empire from Christ, and tries by force and deceit and heretical dishonor to sunder the indivisible unity of Rome, corrupt her integrity, derile her modesty, and overturn as much as he can the regular dispositions of God and set His promises at naught. The name of Christ is in danger of being taken away from the empire; but, as the inscription of your gift teaches, the name of Christ is the only one that persists

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<sup>8</sup> Psalms 18.15.

<sup>9</sup> Psalms 98.4.

<sup>10</sup> Psalms 16.2. John uses the singular here, where the place cited has the plural, i.e., "aequitatem" for "aequitates."

<sup>11</sup> (Millor's notes here refer to Letter 113. Perhaps in the thesis which included that letter there is a reference which will explain this.)

<sup>12</sup> Frederic Barbarossa. Cf. Letter 144.

forever, and the honor of him who presumes to empire and boasts in a false name is an empty one, and will certainly be brought low by Him Who is before all the ages. All this and more, which I omit for brevity's sake, have I seen in the ring, recognising fraternal affection in the gift, and advised in many wholesome ways of virtue by the quality of the gift. Is there not every right and reason, then, to love and esteem such a brother? One may always love, surely, and cannot be forbidden it. This I do, intensely and unceasingly, and have resolved that when I may I will gratefully repay your love its proper respect. In the meanwhile, I give you all possible thanks, and beg you earnestly to take our little brother<sup>13</sup> under your care, and to give what attention you can to those connected with us.

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<sup>13</sup> Richard, as mentioned before, Cf. Letter 136, where John speaks of his return to Exeter.

Letter 147: John to Prior Engelbert of Val St. Pierre

Sudden changes of fortune usually cause inconvenience, and men who had ambitioned honors often grow weary under the burden of duties attaching thereto, sorry that their prayers have been realised. But this is as it should be, for if they are blameworthy, it is a just punishment that follows their offenses; and, if they are foreordained to this life, a pious reproof of this sort destroys the overreaching fancy or ambition, while their strenuous exertion either kills or holds in check the pleasures that accompany distinction. I can easily believe that you,<sup>1</sup> too, have felt some annoyance at such sudden changes, but for other reasons, far different and almost directly opposed to the above. For who could suspect that you have been driven by the goad of any wrongful ambition to seek honors, yearn for the pleasures of ease, or to follow with worldly pride the popular opinion in every wind? All these things, indeed, you have despised "as but dung, that you may gain Christ"<sup>2</sup> alone, Who will return to you not the ephemeral honors-without-honor which you have exchanged for precious poverty, but will grant you everlasting honor in heaven, surpassing in its incomparable majesty the purple of emperors.

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<sup>1</sup> Engelbert, prior of Val St. Pierre, a Carthusian monastery in the diocese of Laon.

<sup>2</sup> Philippians 3.8.

No weak, effeminate pleasures will find entrance there, where, enduring in its true natural state, the flesh will be filled with the vigor of the spirit, and transported in angelic exultation. There public recognition of your merit will not depend on the whim of them that mouth untruths, but holy angels will herald your splendid virtue incessantly. You should see the proof of this, beloved, not so much from any words of ours, as from Sacred Scripture, if you persevere in what you have begun. For it is perseverance alone that reaps the fruit of every virtue. Nor will you have to labor long at this task, if you measure the future rightly, for the glorious reward of your toil is now in sight, and your Remunerator stands at the door.<sup>3</sup> Whatever may be the annoyances, then, that come from the loss of your priorate and your responsibility for souls and bodies which, as it seems to you, has been put on shoulders too weak and feeble for such a burden, bear them patiently for His sake, and cry to Him, for He is near.<sup>4</sup> With pious trust throw what may seem to you unbearable upon His shoulders, on which He carried back the lost sheep,<sup>5</sup> and bore the burdens of all mankind upon the cross, since His "government is upon His shoulder."<sup>6</sup> He will surely raise you

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Apocalypse 3.20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Psalms 144.18; Isaias 55.6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Luke 15.5.

<sup>6</sup> Isaias 9.6.

up, for He is "faithful, and will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able,"<sup>7</sup> but will make the temptation itself your gain.

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7 Corinthians 1.10.13.

Letter 148: John to Abbot Ingram of St. Medard

The cause of Christ needs no great recommendation, especially for you,<sup>1</sup> who are eager to be united still more happily to Him through the service of sincere devotion and the good graces of the saints interceding for you. Who can doubt that the cause of the blessed poor of Val St. Pierre is the cause of Christ?<sup>2</sup> Who does not know that Christ Himself is saddened or consoled in their sadness or consolation--that is, unless one knows nothing of the prophecy in the gospel, in fulfillment of which Christ in judgment will pronounce sentence for the condemnation of the wicked and the salvation and glory of the elect?<sup>3</sup> And because, as I have heard, in your goodness you pity the brethren I have mentioned, and in your kindness have gladly come to their support, with them and for them, I very sincerely thank you for this charity of yours. When you tell me, and when time and circumstances require, I will repay you as far as I can. I am sure, certainly, that Christ, Whom you are now comforting in His members, will repay His debt "in plentiful mercy,"<sup>4</sup> pouring back into your bosom a measure "shaken together and running over."<sup>5</sup> I beg and entreat you,

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1 Ingram, Abbot of St. Medard, a Benedictine abbey near Soissons.

2 Cf. Letter 147, which may have some connection with this.

3 Cf. Matthew 25.31-45.

4 Psalms 91.11.

5 Luke 6.38.



too, with all possible earnestness, to take a fond interest in your cherished foster-son, the prior Engelbert,<sup>6</sup> and to offer your aid and counsel to him and to his brothers in whatever ways they may need your protection. Thus, as becomes such a father and so noble a see, you will spare the poor embarrassment by anticipating their prayers when you can, spreading in this way your own renown and setting your own conscience at ease. Since, moreover, it is said that they are being molested by some of your brethren (which is neither to your honor nor to your advantage), I very earnestly entreat you to restore their peace and enjoin your brethren from disturbing them. It will be quite true to say that whatever you do for them you do for me. This last, however, is too mean a description of what you will merit, since Christ Himself will repay whatever, either of good or evil, has been done them.

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6 Cf. Letter 147; and Letter 188 in Millor's edition.

Letter 149: John to Master Nicholas of Norwich

For a long time I have refrained from sending you<sup>1</sup> the frequent notes which I was wont, but my affection for you is all the warmer for that. Excessive grief, you know, will often arrest tears that are natural to one and, if locked in an anguished heart, it will torment one's spirit more the longer it is kept from escaping, pouring itself out and coming to light. I do not mean to say this as though giving way to the force of some flooding torrent; I have learned under philosophy's tutelage that, in proportion as an attack throws everything into confusion, so too its violence cannot be long-lived. A whirlwind's fury arises unexpectedly, and on a sudden tumbles everything together, but it is over in a moment and stops almost before it begins to lose its force. Since, then, the "fashion of this world passeth away"<sup>2</sup> as a shadow, and vanishes like smoke in a gust of wind to the eyes of philosophers, and still more certainly to the eyes of Christian faith, how then can anything, either in success or disappointments, seem long-lasting to one who is wise?<sup>3</sup> What philosopher's heart will despair or exult over what is only momentary? I am persuaded, therefore, to bear quietly what I cannot avoid, and, where my conscience does not prick me, to re-

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas, a cleric of Norwich.

<sup>2</sup> Cr. Corinthians 1.7.31.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Cicero, De Senectute 69.

joice in tribulations and to thank the divine dispensation for the seizure of my goods.<sup>4</sup> But though I am not entirely overwhelmed in sorrow at the injuries and losses I have sustained, I am disturbed nevertheless at not being able to see my friends. I feel the loss of pleasant intercourse with those who think with me, and being denied all means and opportunity of fulfilling the duties of my office. These things upset me. Yes, I am disturbed by these, but I am far more deeply affected by the sufferings of the church; and the distress of my friends, of which I hear almost daily, wrings out my heart's blood. No reason for grief, however, has more strength or sting than this, that the fury of this storm has, to judge by the testimony of their actions, driven charity from the hearts of some in whom I placed my confidence and who seemed to have standing. This, dear friend, speaking for your ears alone, since I think you different from the others, is what I deplore; namely, that I see "the finest color is changed,"<sup>5</sup> and the "silver" of the faithful "turned into dross."<sup>6</sup> Perhaps there is a question in your mind why I make this statement. My answer is this: it is not a conjecture. I assure you that

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4 Henry II, at Marlborough on December 26, 1164, and forbidden that any one of Archbishop Thomas' clerks should receive any benefice or money. Cf. Robertson, Becket Materials vol. 3, p. 75.

5 Cf. Lamentations 4.1.

6 Cf. Ezekiel 12.8; Isaias 1.22.

though I had many friends in good days, yet there is scarcely one or two who either wish or dare to greet me when, as they believe, I am deep in evil days. Certainly if a greeting given to me would prove prejudicial to them, I had rather they refrain from this perilous act, provided only that charity does not suffer, than that they put themselves in jeopardy on my account. Perhaps it is a criminal offense to receive letters from me; this consideration will keep me from writing, though with God's grace no one will be able to keep me from loving my friends, even if they love me less or are altogether estranged from me. Enough of this. In conclusion, I beg to commend to you my brother,<sup>7</sup> who has secured peace with my lord king, even if not the full favor which he has never failed to deserve. Please recommend him to my lord Bishop of Norwich,<sup>8</sup> and as his Excellency does not dare remit to me three marks from the present feast of St. John,<sup>9</sup> please have him transfer them to my brother, in whose name soever he wishes. I will receive whatever favor he does him more gratefully than if it had been shown me in my own person.

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<sup>7</sup> Richard.

<sup>8</sup> William Turbe, Bishop of Norwich 1146-1175.

<sup>9</sup> St. John the Baptist, or St. John the Apostle. Each has two feast days: the former, on June 24th and August 29th; the latter, on May 6th, and December 27th.

Letter 150: John to Bishop William Turbe of Norwich

I know, Father,<sup>1</sup> that you are wont to love your royal friends with true charity, to accept their devoted services and to repay them according to your ability and their merit. This is the reason that I hope to have your sympathy both for the sincerity of my cause and personal affection, since I have always shown myself loyal and devoted to you. To your Paternity, therefore, I anxiously recommend my brother,<sup>2</sup> whose property has been confiscated more through the willfulness of others than through any deserts of his own. I would not commend him to you, unless he had made his peace with my lord King,<sup>3</sup> even though he has not yet won his full favor. And also, since payment of my revenues has been withheld so that I am unable to collect three marks on the present feast of St. John,<sup>4</sup> I pray you, please, to have three marks transferred to him in whose name soever you will, in the form of a loan or in some other way. It certainly cannot be blameworthy to succor a man who is innocent and at peace with my lord King.

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1 William Turbe, Bishop of Norwich 1146-1175. Cf. Letter 149.

2 Richard. Cf. Letter 149.

3 Henry II.

4 Cf. Letter 149, Note 8.

Letter 151: John to Wibert and Odo, Prior and Sub-Prior of Christ Church, Canterbury

In your good judgment, you<sup>1</sup> can and should remember the great reverence due to superiors, and the consideration which the holy see of Canterbury has shown to her archbishops. Now although I dare not call your recent superior<sup>2</sup> the equal of his predecessors, who are glorious for miracles in your see, still I do not think the cause for which he stands is a lesser one. As a matter of fact, it is the same, for in both cases the right has been for the freedom and safety of the church. Moreover, I trust in the Lord, as by many tokens the Roman church gives ground for hoping that this exile and travail of our father will avail to restore the see of Canterbury and to regain for her all the dignities and privileges in which she rejoiced under blessed Lanfranc's<sup>3</sup> direction. But let this be said for your ears alone; consequently, it is proper for you

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1 Rev. Wm. J. Millor, S.J., in his edition of John's letters, says here "With the exception of one manuscript, only the initial of the first prior appears, and the exception has William. This is William Brito, who succeeded Odo as sub-prior on the death of the prior Wibert, 27 September, 1167. But William is evidently a mistake for Wibert, for the sub-prior's name would not have been written before the prior's; and after the death of Wibert, Odo, who succeeded him, fell into disfavor with the archbishop and his friends, and all letters were henceforth addressed to the sub-prior William."

Odo was prior 1167-1176, and was afterwards Abbot of Battle. For both Odo and Brito, confer John's Entheticus lines 1667-1682.

2 Archbishop Thomas.

3 Archbishop of Canterbury, 1070-1089.

to give every aid in your power, and even beyond your power, to your father who has suffered shipwreck, and so deserve well of him by your own favors, that, when with God's help he has won out, he will be able and obliged to remember you with gratitude. Is it not unseemly and disgraceful if other succor a bishop who is in exile for justice's sake, while his own sons, for whom he is laying up a treasure of honor and glory, refuse to minister to his needs? Have you not offered him everything right at the start, even the reliquaries of the saints, that he might obtain your position for you? Since his means are rather slender, therefore, because of his support of the Roman church, he himself begs you, and I, your loyal friend, counsel you, to come to his aid in his necessity, lest my lord Pope<sup>4</sup> repent of his former favors and you yourselves find an abiding cause for chagrin and shame at your unkindness. Let the example of foreigners inspire you; they are withdrawing from their personal use and needs, and even earning by manual labor, the goods they are sharing with your exiled countryman.

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<sup>4</sup> Alexander III.

Letter 152: Abbot Peter of Celle to the Abbot of St. Amand

Necessity tests the faith of friends, and demonstrates the affection each has for the other. Now a serious and difficult necessity rests on me,<sup>1</sup> who have long since vowed myself wholly to your<sup>2</sup> service, and with God's help will remain so unshakably; but it is an obligation which I hope and pray will be lightened by your kindness, in which I have great trust. You will perhaps be surprised to hear that I have been sentenced to exile, and am harassed and tormented with constant want. The reason is that there is a certain cleric,<sup>3</sup> facile princeps among my friends, whose good fortune and reverses have all been mine throughout many past perils, and whose cultured erudition and virtuous life wins everyone's stronger approval the better it becomes known. It is this cleric who is in exile from England at my house, and I am in exile at home with him. He is suffering the wrath of the English king,<sup>4</sup> though certainly not of his own deserving, as his and my own conscience bear witness; but rather because he has given due service to his lord, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The cleric is Master John of Salisbury, in good repute on both sides of the Channel. To

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1 Abbot Peter of Celle. Cf. Letters 136, 137, 143, 145.

2 Hugh, abbot of St. Amand, near Douai.

3 John of Salisbury. See below.

4 Henry II, who had banished the members of Becket's household and retinue along with himself.



ease, then, the needs of an exile as much my own as my brother's, I beg you earnestly out of your love for me to reconcile him with the English king by the intercession of the Count of Flanders<sup>5</sup> and by your own; and to secure letters patent from the king for him, in virtue of which he may return safely and enjoy his possessions in peace. You may be sure that there is no way in which you may put me under greater obligation to you. And there is no need for you to pretend to be unable, for it is generally acknowledged that you have the necessary influence if you are willing to use it.

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<sup>5</sup> Count Philip. Cf. Letters 136, 144.

Letter 153: John to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter

Since the withdrawal of my lord Pope,<sup>1</sup> nothing worth mention has occurred here, nor is there anything certain from the court of the Emperor.<sup>2</sup> I will therefore dispense with recounting what is public knowledge, and concentrate on personal affairs. The archdeacon of Poitiers<sup>3</sup> has promised me, as I have already written, to give his attention to my reconciliation, but he has not told me what progress he has made. I asked his help now in a second letter, and the aid of the bishop of London<sup>4</sup> too, who they say enjoys the particular favor of the king; the bearer of this letter will be able to show you both of these. If my recall should be discussed anywhere in your presence, please work in your own person and through others for a reconciliation that will imply no stain of disloyalty nor stigma of disgrace; otherwise I prefer to remain in exile forever. If I were required to desert my archbishop (which none of his household has done yet, nor anyone else in all of England), God forbid that I be the first or last ever to agree to such a deed of dishonor! It is certainly true that I have given loyal service to my lord the archbishop, but still, upon

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1 Alexander III withdrew from France on October of 1165, entering Rome on November 23rd of that year.

2 Fredrick Barbarossa. Cf. Letters 144, 146.

3 Richard of Ilchester. Cf. Letter 144.

4 Gilbert Foliot. Cf. Letter 144.

my conscience, I have preserved intact the honor of my lord king. Should anyone say that I have acted against his majesty in any way, then where I can offer no valid excuse I am prepared to make satisfaction to his honor and good pleasure in all justice. "He that seeth into the heart"<sup>5</sup> and judges men's words and works knows that I, more often and more directly than any other man, have hurried my lord archbishop away from occasions on which from the outset, with a sort of uncontrolled zeal, he seemed to have provoked and embittered the king and his court, although many allowances were to be made for time, place, and persons. I believe without doubt, at any rate, that through the Lord's mercy "my justice shall answer for me tomorrow."<sup>6</sup> This will certainly be the case with my lord of Canterbury, since this exile of his has been of great profit for his intellectual and moral development, and of some little help to myself as well, for which I thank Divine Providence. I would not be willing to promise that I will not serve my lord of Canterbury henceforward, although God is my witness that I am determined no longer to be attached to his court. If the Lord has opened a way for my recall, please write and tell me whether I should return with my books and all my baggage. For if this be the case, I will need more horses and many more things which are lacking at the present time.

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5 Cr. Proverbs 24.12.

6. Genesis 30.33.

Letter 154: John to Master Humphrey Bos

The counsel of the Scriptures tells us that "advice" is to be sought "from a wise man,"<sup>1</sup> and that the loyalty of friends will be "proved in distress."<sup>2</sup> Now I certainly entertain no doubts of your<sup>3</sup> wisdom, which you have built up from practical experience along with wide reading, and--what is most important--have received through grace; nor do I lack confidence in the charity which your often-tried character and virtue promise me. Hence it is that I ask your advice in these critical straits of mine, and beg you earnestly to write back to me, by the messenger I have dispatched to my lord of Bayeux,<sup>4</sup> what course seems most expedient in my present position, provided that my integrity remain intact, for without that there is nothing I deem expedient. To equip you better to give advice, my case is as follows. I have preserved the loyalty I owe to the see and archbishop of Canterbury, and I have stood by him faithfully both in England and on the continent, whenever justice and forbearance seemed in his favor. But whenever he seemed to swerve from justice or to exceed the mean, "I withstood him to the face."<sup>5</sup> God is my witness to this, as are my conscience

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1 Cf. Tobias 4.19.

2 Cf. Proverbs 17.17.

3 A friend of John's, apparently for some time past.

4 Bishop Henry of Bayeux. Cf. Letters 139, 140, 144.

5 Galatians 2.11.

and the friends and companions who have associated with us. Now in all this I have done nothing intentionally contrary to the honor due my lord king or to his interests, which I am prepared to show as justice may require, if such a move be safe and without compulsion; and if it be found that I have offended in anything, I will make full and willing satisfaction. My reconciliation has been considered this year, and the king was prevailed upon to allow my return if I were willing to swear upon the relics of the saints that I have not acted contrary to his honor or interests on this side of the channel. I put this proposal before my lord Pope,<sup>6</sup> and he replied that the king and his court would have interpreted as against his honor whatever I might admit having done against his wish; he persuaded me not to return under these conditions, but to wait until his majesty's anger should abate somewhat. After this, I was urged to offer bond that thenceforward I would not aid the archbishop in any way, and by this means to regain the king's favor. Now it is true that I am not bound in loyalty to the archbishop by any human oath or obligation of faith, seeing that I owe him nothing but the obedience which is due every bishop from his subjects; yet I did not think I should accept this condition, because I believed it dishonorable to deny my lord and renounce obedience to him, which as yet no one in all

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6 Alexander III.

the kingdom has done. Aside from this, however, I would willingly do whatever I might with integrity or conscience and of character. When I explained this to my lord Rotrou,<sup>7</sup> in whom I have great confidence, he promised me his steadfast support. Please send me your advice in this matter; and be sure that I have determined henceforward not to be a member of the archbishop's court. My lord of Canterbury<sup>8</sup> knows this well, for I have withdrawn from his company, though I am withdrawing neither my loyalty nor my affection.

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7 Rotrou de Beaumont, archbishop of Rouen from 1165 to 1183, and former bishop of Evreux, 1139 to 1165.

8 Archbishop Thomas.

Letter 155: Archbishop Thomas Becket to Nicholas, Guest Master of Mount St. Jacques

Your Fraternity<sup>1</sup> knows how patiently I have borne the losses, injuries, and abuse heaped upon me and mine by my dearly cherished lord, the illustrious King of England.<sup>2</sup> After abusing my own patience, he has turned his attacks upon his most holy mother, the spouse of the Crucified, and has not feared to make a handmaid of her for whose freedom God the Son willed to be condemned to a shameful death. I have advised him often with a father's love, begged him with the loyalty due my lord, and reproved him with the authority of the pastor. But in my person he has scorned his loyal father just as much as his pastor; and, to present the whole true picture, he has done a thing more dangerous for the church and more disastrous for himself by spurning Him Whose place I hold; Christ. These things might be considered trifles, and he might scorn them as he is used to, had not the Son of God told the pastors of His church, "He that despiseth you, despiseth me,"<sup>3</sup> and "He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of my eye."<sup>4</sup> Still, my

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<sup>1</sup> Nicholas, the guest master of the monastery of Mont St. Jacques, near Rouen. This letter was written for Archbishop Thomas by John in the spring of 1166, when Thomas had determined to excommunicate Henry II. The archbishop forbore, however, when he learned of Henry's illness. Cf. Letter 174.

<sup>2</sup> Henry II.

<sup>3</sup> Luke 10.16.

<sup>4</sup> Zacharias 2.8.

solicitude went to even greater lengths, and I had the sovereign Pontiff<sup>5</sup> offer him his devoted prayers for the peace of the church, but he went unheard. My lord Pope exhorted him, and found a dear listener. He added rebukes; they were condemned. Finally he sounded a threat with the trumpet of apostolic authority, but not even thus could his majesty's faith and reason be aroused. Then, too, not to omit any of the unfortunate circumstances, the king of France, his friend and lord,<sup>6</sup> lent all his effort and industry, but not even he has deserved to be "heard for his reverence."<sup>7</sup> I came for a conference with him,<sup>8</sup> but was not admitted to his presence, nor did he allow any mention to be made of my name or of the cause of God. Afterwards I sent him respected men as envoys, and letters patent, as he had asked, which expressed the justice of the church's cause and the meaning of my petition; but my labors and theirs, as far as he is concerned, have ended in vain. I had relied on the pledge of my lady Empress,<sup>9</sup> as you know and as she should not forget, but she has deluded me at every turn. This patience of mine, then, proving harmful to the church of God, still more harmful to him whose "last state becomes" daily "worse than the first"<sup>10</sup> and most harmful of all

<sup>5</sup> Alexander III.

<sup>6</sup> Louis VII was Henry's feudal suzerain in Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou.

<sup>7</sup> Hebrews 5.7.

<sup>8</sup> At Chinon, June, 1166.

<sup>9</sup> Matilda, Henry's mother, with whom Nicholas had great influence.

<sup>10</sup> Matthew 12.45; Luke 11.26.



for myself, who will have to render an account before the tribunal of the Bridegroom not only of my own works, but of His blood and the sufferings of His bride as well. Under these circumstances, you may be certain, and may intimate to my lady Empress, that shortly--nay, forthwith--as I live and God is my strength, I shall unsheathe against the person and domains of the king the sword of the Holy Ghost, "more piercing than any two-edged sword,"<sup>11</sup> to overthrow stubborn flesh and save a spirit swooning and all but quenched. Persuade my lady, then, to hold me excused for the future in a matter which I may no longer disguise; let her be sure that, if her son comes again to life, hears the voice of God and accepts his mother's counsel, he will find me prompt for God's honor and his own wishes. Meanwhile, as God is my witness, I mourn her dying son with as much grief as I hopefully long and pray for his honor and salvation. I say this in sorrow, weeping, groaning, and sighing as though applying a fiery cautery to my own bowels, cut by keen steel from the bosom that housed them. God Himself knows this, and it is not right that I any longer practice an impious piety to His own injury by preferring to Him my earthly mother, rather, sister, or even sovereign.<sup>12</sup> "There is no sorrow like to this sorrow,"<sup>13</sup> but "the charity of God," and the advantage

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<sup>11</sup> Hebrews 4.12.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Matthew 10.37.

<sup>13</sup> Lamentations 1.12.

and honor of Him Whom I serve, "presseth us"<sup>14</sup> to endure this courageously. Farewell. Remember me to my brothers, and urge them to pray for me, that I may receive "the spirit of counsel and of fortitude";<sup>15</sup> and to pray for my lord king, that he may have "the spirit of knowledge and of godliness,"<sup>16</sup> so that he may make his peace with the church of God and with me in the Lord.

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14 Cf. Corinthians 2.5.14.

15 Isaias 11.2.

16 Isaias 11.2.

Letter 156: John to Master Ralph of Lisieux

For a long time, dearest of my friends,<sup>1</sup> I have wanted to learn of your circumstances and of those of other old friends, the more so as I have rarely heard anything either from you or about you to relieve my anxiety. True, I do hear something about you now and then through the good offices of travellers, but from you personally I have heard nothing at all. I can only explain this clearly by supposing that, as we are in evil days and you are a man of prudence, you have kept quiet from a certain sense of caution. For my part, to confess my weakness to your ears alone, and to disclose my foolishness to my friend as though to myself, I have never been able to exercise this caution, and not desire to share in the vicissitudes of my friends and shoulder their cares in my own small way. Thus, as I have written to you rather often, and you have never written in answer, my solicitude has been still more aroused, and can no longer keep from inquiring by special messenger after your own status and that of old friends. Do not think that by "old" I would have you understand one-time friends whose charity is growing cool, for I have neither mentioned nor sensed any decrease in their charity. Whom am I to "judge another man's

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<sup>1</sup> Master Ralph of Lisieux. The tone of John's letter suggests that his friend had been cool since John's banishment.

servant" who "to his own lord standeth or falleth"?<sup>2</sup> He shall stand to me too, with God's grace. Charity, to be sure, is prompt to serve,<sup>3</sup> knows no evil, is strong as death,<sup>4</sup> and gives many lasting proofs of its sincerity; it bears constantly "a greater testimony than that of John,"<sup>5</sup> given as well by its works as by the fruits of these works. If you have the time and permission, and if you care to, you can learn of my circumstances and those of others from the bearer of this letter, whom I have sent for this purpose; he will also tell you how you may send me news of yourself. Be sure that I have permission, leisure, and a devoted desire to obey eagerly the commands of yourself and your servants, if you will deign to enjoin anything on a traveller. I will consider it a great favor to be occupied in any service for you at your direction. Only presume then, my dear friend, to ask something from a friend or lay an obligation on him when he is putting himself and his possessions at your disposal with all the affection in his heart.

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2 Cr. Romans 14.4.

3 Cr. Corinthians 1.13.

4 Cf. Canticles 8.6.

5 John 5.36.

Letter 157: John to the Prior of Merton

When human counsel fails we must of necessity fly to divine, and there is no easier or more successful way to win this, I think, than for the friends of God<sup>1</sup> to work to secure by their prayers what was lost by the fault of men without a champion. Now, I am proscribed and in exile, and as far as men are concerned, do not see the reason for either punishment. I realize, however, that before God I have deserved punishment still more severe, and perhaps my sins will demand that I be beaten with these and even more bitter lashes without knowing the reason. The judgments of God are more to be feared, the more they proceed from a hidden justice and a secret accounting; for it is a twofold punishment if the punishment itself is felt, and the reason for it is unknown. Yet if God in His mercy wishes me to suffer "for justice's sake,"<sup>2</sup> I accept it most willingly, knowing that He is wont to bless His friends in this way, since "through many tribulations"<sup>3</sup> is the way to the Kingdom. I own that I have kept faith with the church of God, and that I have given my archbishop the loyal obedience I owed him; with God's help, moreover, I will never repent of

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1 The letter is addressed to Robert, prior of Merton, a priory of Austin canons in Surrey. Robert was Archbishop Thomas' confessor and life-long friend, and was present at his death.

2 Matthew 5.10.

3 Acts 14.21.

having preserved either my loyalty or my obedience. I hope that our archbishop, too, is following the footsteps of his fathers on the true and narrow path and attaining to life by the way of God's commandments. With all the fervor I can, therefore, I beseech your Paternity and our lords and brothers to commend our contest to God in their prayers, so that if we are "where there is no passing"<sup>4</sup> we may be brought back to the way; and if we are on the way, as we certainly believe, that we may advance and be brought to life.<sup>5</sup> We need no more than to have our cause kind favor with God.

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<sup>4</sup> Psalms 106.40.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Matthew 7.14.

Letter 158: John to the Prior of Merton

I thank you<sup>1</sup> for having looked out for my interests, as I have learned from your letters and from many reports, and I hope that through God's mercy your solicitude will better my condition. I believe it has helped already, and it is to the prayers of yourself and other friends that I ascribe the fact that "all the days of my pilgrimage"<sup>2</sup> have ended happily for me. And since I consider myself your friend "always and in all places,"<sup>3</sup> I earnestly beg you to intercede with the Lord for me, that "He will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but making with the temptation issue"<sup>4</sup> when and how it seems good to Him, He lead me back to the land of my birth, provided this too seems good, without cost to conscience or reputation. Pray too that he will soften the wrath of my lord King<sup>5</sup> who has long persecuted me without cause, and still continues to persecute, as God and my conscience are witness. May God spare him, and not let the blasts of this storm drive charity out of my heart. I am confident, however, that my lord of London<sup>6</sup> and the archdeacon of Poitiers<sup>7</sup> will work for

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1 Robert, prior of Merton. Cf. Letter 157.

2 Genesis 47.9.

3 Preface of the Mass.

4 Corinthians 1.10.13. The quotation is changed from the second to the first person.

5 Henry II.

6 Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London from 1163 to 1188.

7 Richard of Ilchester. Cf. Letters 144, 153.

my reconciliation if they see an opportunity; nor have I any doubts of Richard de Lucy.<sup>8</sup> I beg you too, therefore, to further my interests with them if you see an occasion, but only insofar as you believe it will not be prejudicial to your own church. However, if it is not safe for men to intervene, please beseech God fervently to direct "my goings in His paths."<sup>9</sup> He can make a homeland for me in any place whatever, and to my own salvation can compensate abroad for whatever is taken away at home.

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8 Chief Justiciar of England.

9 Psalms 16.5.



Letter 159: John to his Brother Richard

I shall plainly seem to be treating you unjustly, dearest of all mortals,<sup>1</sup> if I write to anyone else on my travels and remain reticent towards you; for I am sure that you, with the solicitude of a mother loved of God, are interested more than the rest of men in my status. So, although at times there is neither matter nor occasion to write anything, still I think the very fact that there has not been matter or occasion for writing should itself be the subject of a letter to you. What I have written to my lord Bishop<sup>2</sup> will come to your attention also, just as you will show his Excellency what I have written to you. I want you to take his advice in everything that pertains to you, and to prefer his counsel to mine, both because he is wiser than I am and because I am confident that he has more of the grace of God, and excels me (whom he has always loved with true charity) in merit as he does in authority. What I would have written him, except that I had only little news of prime importance, do you in my name bring him to see. I hope the Holy Ghost will persuade him too, for He does not permit those who hope in Him to be bereft of the solace of good

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1 John writes to his brother Richard, who is at this time still in England. He rejoined John later in the year (1166). Cf. Letter 176 in Millor's edition.

2 Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter from 1161 to 1184. Cf. Letters 136, 153.

counsel in their hour of need. My message is this, that in this conflict of might against right he proceed with such moderation in the path of law, guided by grace and helped by reason, that he neither seem guilty of rashness against the power that is ordained of God,<sup>3</sup> nor from fear of power or love of perishable possessions consent to evil to the subjugation of the church. For if he should do so he would be held, to the ruin of both his present and future possessions, not only as a deserter of duty and a traitor to his profession, but even as an opponent of justice. Perhaps you will say that--and this is true of anyone--it is easier for me to prescribe in words what should be done than to fulfill in action what has been prescribed. The book to be eaten<sup>4</sup> is sweet in the mouth of the prophet, but it grows bitter when it is within him. The Orator<sup>5</sup> also teaches in the art of speaking that it is very to give rules and to speak about art, but a very difficult thing to speak conformably to that art; that is, to follow the rules you have given. But nowhere is this more difficult than in the art of living; for this is the art of arts indeed, and incomparably transcends all other arts in difficulty as it does in value. You will probably bring up that saying of our Comic

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<sup>3</sup> Cf. Romans 13.1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Apocalypse 10.9.

<sup>5</sup> Cicero, who in the De Inventione 1.6, says "...oratori minimum est de arte loqui.....; multo maximum ex arte dicere..."

Poet<sup>6</sup> too: "When you're well, it's easy to give sound advice to a sick man. Take my place and you'll think differently." My answer is that although I do not know how, or am unable, to observe the golden mean which I prescribe, still I will freely follow the lyric poet,<sup>7</sup> playing "a whetstone's part, which makes steel sharp, but of itself cannot cut." For my part, however, I am uneasy, not because I have any misgivings (God knows) or so great and sincere a father, but because in time of danger the charity of a friend cannot help being aroused. I know the weakness of the church and the importunity of her very powerful persecutors, even though my lord pope<sup>8</sup> has made a considerable recovery and is now strengthened in the Lord. I know too the faint-heartedness of some bishops and the envy of others, and I fear nothing more than that his innocence may be endangered among "false brethren"<sup>9</sup> and "them that seemed to be something"<sup>10</sup> and are eminent in positions of influence and pretended learning and rank. Even the leaders who were foremost in Israel by their office and qualifications, Moses and Aaron, fell before the onset of the multitude at the "Waters of Con-

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6 Terence, Andria 2.1.9; from the translation by John Sargeaunt in the Loeb Classical Library; Terence (2 volumes), London, Heinemann, 1926.

7 Horace, Ars Poetica 304-5; from the translation by H. Rushton Fairclough in Loeb Classical Library; Horace: Satires, Epistles, and Ars Poetica, London, Heinemann, 1929.

8 Alexander III.

9 Cr. Corinthians 2.11.26.

10 Galatians 2.2, 6.

tradiction,"<sup>11</sup> and forfeited their entry into the Land of Promise. It is rumored here that the English bishops have assembled several times to deliberate and decide what should be done. But what, I ask, will they really do except disturb themselves in their anxiety, and this beyond measure? What decision will they arrive at, except that they have preferred to yield shamelessly rather than resist injuries like men? What will they really decide, except that injustice is the supreme master, and that they themselves are not announcing life to sinners nor showing them the way of God? I have not said this from any wish to persuade His Excellency to "strike out against the torrent,"<sup>12</sup> or to take a reckless stand against the multitude and expose his church to danger and hardship: Rather have I spoken that he may imitate what we read good men have done, as Chusai the Arachite, who took pains to advise restraint and put aside the evil counsel of Achitophel,<sup>13</sup> and acquitted himself still more faithfully toward Absolon in this, that he removed from him the matter of sin, and forestalled an occasion of parricide. Surely you do not deem those loyal who open the ways of sin for my lord King<sup>14</sup> and who are anxious for him to succeed in what is being rashly

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Numbers 20.13.

<sup>12</sup> Juvenal 4.90; from the translation by G. G. Ramsay in Loeb Classical Library; Juvenal and Persius, London, Heinemann,

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Kings 2.17.7.

<sup>14</sup> Henry II.

undertaken against the justice of God? Which one seems to you the more loyal; he who commits faults at the bidding of one who has gone astray, or he who counteracts pleasures that are harmful? No matter what others may think, I will never judge faithful to his lord or friend a man who so caters to the other's pleasure that he does injury to his salvation and life. Or do you think that Doeg the Edomite was faithful to Saul,<sup>15</sup> when he slew the priests of the Lord with the sword with which he was presently to run himself through; or that Absolon had a friend in Achitophel,<sup>16</sup> at whose suggestion he openly committed incest with his father's wives and determined to commit parricide? They say (and I hope it is untrue) that my lord bishop of London<sup>17</sup> and that friend of mine, the bishop of Chichester,<sup>18</sup> are arming henchmen of iniquity against the church; that they thirst for the blood of the archbishop of Canterbury, and that their one purpose is that his recall may never be permitted. Have they no fear that savagery may grow mild, or (to borrow from Cicero) "that Caesar's auctions may fall flat,"<sup>19</sup> or his sword

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15 Cf. Kings 1.22.18. John writes Doeth for the Vulgate Doeg.

16 Cf. Kings 2.16.21.

17 Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London 1163-1188. Cf. Letters 144, 153.

18 Hilary, bishop of Chichester 1147-1169. Cf. Letters 144, 145.

19 Cicero, Epistolae ad Familiares 9.10; from the translation by W. Glynn Williams in Loeb Classical Library; Cicero: Letters to His Friends (3 volumes) London, Heinemann, 1928. The Latin, however, employs a play on words which is not reflected in the translation, since the word "spear" (hasta) is used for "auction," much as "hammer" is in English.

be dulled? But I really think this tale is a mere rumor, though many do not; such great and wise priests would not do evil, especially since they themselves know that if iniquity prevails "Upon their own head will the punishment fall."<sup>20</sup> They cannot fail to see that from the reed which has been raised to be a king there has come out fire which "devours the cedars of Libanus."<sup>21</sup> Farewell, and be careful to remember me to those you know should be remembered; and remember me to mother with especial affection. Beg prayers for me, that the Lord may not permit me to wander from His path, but that according to His good pleasure He may lead me through good fortune or bad, after overcoming the affections of the flesh and all vices, and may bring me to where, rejoicing in Him, I may despise my baser nature and sympathise with the unfortunate men who are now vainly occupied with pillaging the church's property and my own.

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<sup>20</sup> Ovid, Ars Amoris 1.340; from the translation by J. H. Mozley in Loeb Classical Library; Ovid: The Art of Love and Other Poems, London, Heinemann, 1929. John adapts the line from "upon thine own head" to "upon their own head, etc."

<sup>21</sup> Judges 9.15.

Letter 160: John to Archdeacon Baldwin of Exeter

Although I am beholden to your<sup>1</sup> interest in me for a long time past, still your solicitude, less recurrent than uninterrupted, places me daily under greater obligations to you. Who would not be won by a loyalty that is untired and untiring in adversity? And whose heart would not be enkindled and inflamed by a charity which is incorrupt, prompt, and outstanding in the perils and the "fining-pot"<sup>2</sup> of temptation? Now much of what I commend in you I have experienced in my own case, but I am experiencing still more in the case of my brother.<sup>3</sup> The reason is that I consider his lot harsher than my own; for although the two of us hold all our possessions in common and our condition is thus one and the same, yet he bears a harder exile who is in exile at home. Just as it is a glorious thing to flourish in one's own city, and pleasant to gain renown in one's homeland, so to be in want or to become poor among one's own people is wretched, for there is less cause for embarrassment if one begs among strangers. In this adversity, however, there is some advantage, or rather a great one, for each of us; for through it we come to know the world and ourselves more

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<sup>1</sup> Baldwin, Archdeacon of Totnes from about 1161 to 1170, Abbot of Ford from about 1170 to 1180, Bishop of Worcester from 1180 to 1184, and Archbishop of Canterbury from 1184 to 1190.

<sup>2</sup> Proverbs 27.21.

<sup>3</sup> Richard.

truly and thoroughly. We are learning at last what we had heard long before, and what has been written many generations ago: that a friend does not appear in prosperity, and an enemy does not stay hidden in adversity.<sup>4</sup> And so it is, beloved, that in this gusty storm each one lays aside the mask he had put on, wipes away the deceptive paint, and shows his true face. Hence, since in what seems to be our tribulation I see your love and loyalty still the same, and even brighter and more luminous, it is right and just for me to praise it still more, and to hope with many a sigh and an eager desire that I may answer your charity worthily. But while I do answer it in my desire and affection, God, Who "is charity,"<sup>5</sup> will certainly answer it in deeds, so that, according to His promise, He will pour back "good measure, shaken together and overflowing, into your bosom."<sup>6</sup> I have written to my lord bishop<sup>7</sup> of my affairs, and you will learn of my circumstances more fully from him. I beg you, then, to help me in my exile by your own prayers and those of the saints that are with you,<sup>8</sup> lest my faith fail, or I do anything in this stormy blast to offend the Lord; that, as is His way, "He will make also with the temptation issue."<sup>9</sup>

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4 Cf. Ecclesiasticus 12.8.

5 John 1.4.9.

6 Luke 6.38.

7 Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter from 1161 to 1184. Cf. Letters 136, 153, 159.

8 Cf. Romans 16.15.

9 Corinthians 1.10.15.



Indeed, He has already begun, for He has granted me consolation commensurate with what I must endure for justice's sake, and has softened the bitterness of my exile; it is certainly easier now than it was on the first day. Have I ever wanted for anything? Have I not more friends and intimates now, and men who prove the love they profess by making an open display of favors and attentions? They certainly bring, in proof of their love, "a testimony greater than that of John,"<sup>10</sup> for the works which they do give testimony of them.

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<sup>10</sup> John 5.36. Confer the same verse for the remainder of this sentence. Perhaps a play on John of Salisbury's own name is implied as well.

Letter 161: John to Roger or Sudbury

To Roger or Sudbury,<sup>1</sup> John sends greetings and the hope that all other blessings are happily accruing to the desired fruit of this one, without let or hindrance from anyone out-riying, tripping, or outstripping him.

I have hopes, dearest friend, that my wish in this matter will be easily verified, unless perhaps Richard or Sudbury,<sup>2</sup> in the flush of youth, is taking away the palm from your earnest painstaking. Should this have entered his mind, may God give him such happiness and joy that he will be forced to smile in good grace, and give way in whatever his youthful presumption had planned to carry off from you. Nevertheless, if he imitates his father in this, or even in something which may seem to border on a fault, let us and those like us, who are older and more advanced, correct him "in the spirit of meekness,"<sup>3</sup> stopping to think whether we ourselves have ever been tempted to similar action. Shouldn't we be indulgent toward a boy if he trip once at night on a slippery path, when even "the just man falls seven times"<sup>4</sup> a day? What if he had gone off where

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1 Perhaps the man who later became archdeacon of Barnstaple from 1180 to 1186. It is clear that he was connected with the clergy of Exeter, from his mention in Letter 146.

2 Apparently the son or younger brother of Roger.

3 Galatians 6.1.

4 Proverbs 24.16.

no one else had gone? If a mother "no longer remembereth the anguish, for joy that a man is born into the world,"<sup>5</sup> why will a father feel the pangs of birth afterwards? Let him be punished only this much, then: up to a predetermined day he shall not be permitted to intone your "Benedicite"<sup>6</sup> unless he has obtained your pardon--provided, of course, that he share in the fruit of the benediction. In conclusion, let me thank you for the love and respect you are showing my brother<sup>7</sup> and myself. I look on what is done for him as done for me, so much so that in his person I consider that "my own sides have been warmed"<sup>8</sup> with the fleece of your sheep.

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<sup>5</sup> John 16.21.

<sup>6</sup> The first word of the Latin formula for graces before meals, according to the Roman Breviary.

<sup>7</sup> Richard, who was then residing at Exeter. Cf. Letter 143.

<sup>8</sup> Job 31.20.

Letter 162: John to Alured of Chard

Your goodness<sup>1</sup> lays on me a debt of gratitude that is all the heavier for being prompted by the sincere and fervent charity with which you have had compassion on me in my exile. And this is especially so, since you were under no previous obligation to me, although I have always wanted to oblige you. Inasmuch as I am in exile at present, and cannot repay your kindness, I dedicate myself in the interim to your service with all eagerness, and, God willing, I shall sometime be able to put my ready devotion to the proof. God, however, will certainly repay your kind offices of charity; and although He has withdrawn from me the power of repaying, yet He Whose hand is neither destitute nor greedy nor powerless will requite your benevolence as beseems Himself, pouring back in rich mercy "good measure, shaken together and running over, into your bosom."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Alured of Chard, or Somerset, who belonged to the clergy of Exeter. Confer Letters 91 and 92 of Millor's edition, where an Alured of Chard is mentioned, though in a different tone.  
<sup>2</sup> Luke 6.38.

Letter 163: John to His Half-Brother Robert

I must begin by expressing my thanks, unless I would willingly stain both my conscience and my good name by ingratitude. You<sup>1</sup> have merited this gratitude time and time again in my own regard to a great extent, but most of all in the person of our young brother,<sup>2</sup> whose wants you are reported to be supplying, taking them on as your own and inspiring others to supply them also. You know, surely, the words of the apostle Peter: If anyone "suffers as a Christian, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God,"<sup>3</sup> for "this is thank-worthy before Him."<sup>4</sup> You may be sure too, I think, that this little brother of ours is not "suffering as a murderer, or a thief, or a railer, or a coveter of other men's things."<sup>5</sup> This fact itself, so I hear, is coming to the knowledge of others through your efforts, to our own consolation, of course, but also to the glory and salvation of them who are showing him the offices of human kindness. As long as my means, while in exile, will allow nothing else, you have my sincere and affectionate thanks; and at some time, God willing, I will be

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1 Robert, son of Gille, appears from the letter to have been a half-brother of John. He is identified with the Robert who succeeded Baldwin as archdeacon of Totnes from 1170 to 1185 or 1186. Cr. Letter 146.

2 Cf. Letter 161.

3 Peter 1.4.16.

4 Peter 1.2.20.

5 Peter 1.4.15.

able to show you in actions how sincere those thanks are. I beg you, then, to persevere laudably in the kindness you have shown my brother, for what has been taken from our own power will be made up to you by Him Who rewards all good men.

Farewell.

Letter 164: John to Master Gerard Pucelle

Although your Excellency<sup>1</sup> has not written in reply to my letter, still, as I cannot restrain my enthusiasm for my friends and for the defense of justice, so I have not been able to refrain from putting pen to paper when occasion offers. I would perhaps write more touching on our condition (the condition, that is, of the English church), except that I suppose our common father, my lord of Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> has already written back to you in some detail in this regard. Passing on, then, to other matters, I give thanks to God first of all, Who beyond all my deserts and contrary to them, has given me consolation in all my troubles, and has turned every snare of my adversaries to His glory and my own advantage. What price ought I to place on literary pursuits, merchandising in virtue,<sup>3</sup> and the experience derived from those who think correctly--I mean for the sake of those who suffer innocently and in the defense of faith and justice? I really congratulate you on your good fortune, as I hear that by the Lord's grace you have found favor among the enemies of the church,<sup>4</sup> so that you have all the temporal goods necessary to carry on your activities. I

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1 Gerard Pucelle, one of the "learned friends of St. Thomas" enumerated by Herbert of Bosham. He later became Bishop of Coventry from 1183 to 1184.

2 Archbishop Thomas.

3 Cf. Matthew 13.45.

4 That is, among the schismatics of Cologne.

hear also that you have a great reputation for learning and virtue in that same quarter, so that whatever you in your prudence decree is counted sacrosanct among the barbarians there.<sup>5</sup> What I prize most of all, however, is this, that you have "hated the assembly of the malignant"<sup>6</sup> and, as I hear, you are speaking and writing the truth for the Faith against the schismatics publicly, with full freedom of conscience in the strength of the Holy Spirit; assuredly, "Where the Spirit of God is, there is liberty."<sup>7</sup> Nothing becomes a philosopher more than the open profession of truth, respect for justice, contempt of the world, and, when necessary, love of poverty. We read that philosophers have freely despised riches and thrown them away because they were impediments to virtue; but it has never yet been heard that any one of them, even among the gentiles, preferred wealth to truthfulness. The precepts of the whole pagan ethical system, as a matter of fact, have this force and purpose: to keep in check and to subject to reason the passions of the carnal appetites which they cannot wholly extinguish. Should this gift be granted anyone from above, (for unaided nature cannot achieve it), there is no doubt that such a man is walking the true philosopher's path to life, to

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5 Gerard had gone to Cologne early in 1166; the letter appears to have been written shortly afterward.

6 Psalms 25.5.

7 Corinthians 2.3.17.



"see good days"<sup>8</sup> without end. The more a man advances in this direction, the more close he draws to true philosophy. Since, then, I am confident that you have a true philosopher's determination, I beg, warn, and counsel you in every way to call back with all zeal the erring from their schism, that they may put God before men and not let themselves be separated from the body of Christ through fear of the emperor<sup>9</sup> or the machinations of the schismatic of Cologne.<sup>10</sup> It may be, you know, that God has directed you to these barbarians to effect the salvation of many of them. In my opinion, this schism should not be approached in a contentious spirit, but should be put down with quiet restraint, especially on the part of a wise man who remembers that wisdom's moderation "ordereth all things sweetly from end to end."<sup>11</sup> Apart from this, I do not think that any least communication should be held with the obstinate, remembering that Zorobabel,<sup>12</sup> whose figure you bear (and whose name is translated "chief" or "master" of Babylon<sup>13</sup>), did not permit the enemies of Juda and Benjamin to unite their offerings with those of the children of Israel, not even to rebuild

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<sup>8</sup> Psalms 33.13.

<sup>9</sup> Fredrick Barbarossa.

<sup>10</sup> Rainold of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne from 1159 to 1167. He had been the chancellor of Fredrick Barbarossa, and was the leading spirit of the schism against Alexander III. Cf. Letter 144.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Wisdom 8.1. John abridges and inverts the verse.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Esdras 1.4.3.

<sup>13</sup> This derivation is from St. Jerome. Cf. his work De Nominibus Hebraeorum, in Migne, Patrologia Latina volume 23.

the house of the Lord. So much for this. In conclusion, let me entreat you again to send your devoted correspondent something from the relics of the Kings and the Virgins,<sup>14</sup> together with your testimonial letter. Farewell.

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<sup>14</sup> Relics of the Magi, and of St. Ursula and the eleven thousand virgins, transferred to Cologne by Archbishop Rainold from Milan after the capture of that city by Barbarossa in 1162. The letter mentioned would be the customary attestation to the authenticity of the relics.

Letter 165: John to Ralph de Bello Monte

The title to true piety is shown by no truer token than when it comes mercifully to the aid of those who are bereft of human solace, and who are persecuted without reason by a world displeasing to God. I congratulate you,<sup>1</sup> therefore, on having attained this title, and rejoice that you are practising works of piety which surpass the common and almost universal expectation. Moreover, I do not mean to say that your efforts are propped up by any worldly philosophy, but rather by the fire of the Holy Spirit, kindling and enlightening your mind to true wisdom. I am happy, too, because, as I have learned from the bearer of this letter, you as a true Christian have dared in the midst of charity's assailants to remember the brotherhood which is in the Lord. And how comes it, Ralph, particularly when those "who seemed to be pillars"<sup>2</sup> of the church are trembling, and the giants who should have carried the world are letting themselves sink in the flood without a groan? The Lord commanded "the clouds to rain no rain"<sup>3</sup> in those parts, and yet in that very region you have not hesitated, in the dew of divine grace, to grow fruits of mercy and the works of the Savior. I had believed that you certainly had the tongue of a

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1 Ralph de Bello Monte, or Beaumont, physician of Henry II.

2 Galatians 2.9.

3 Isaias 5.6.

philosopher, but not his spirit. Now, however, I recall that you are to some extent a disciple of the great Aristippus,<sup>4</sup> who experienced every circumstance of life imperturbably, and was wont to look philosophically even on trifles, remaining pleasant towards all and severe to none. He was once asked what good philosophy had done him, and is said to have answered, "It enabled me to converse fearlessly with all men."<sup>5</sup> Consequently, then, I think you are to be more entirely trusted, because you yourself do not lose hope in the kingdom of Christ. In this hope, I ask you to remember to aid the bearer of this letter, as you have already begun to do, seeing God and His service in this man's needs. You may be certain that if he cared as much for literature in my service as he does for falconry and the trillings of court life in yours, I would be very willing to provide all his needs. Farewell.

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4 A Greek philosopher of Cyrene, pupil of Socrates and a leader of the Cyrenaic school; he lived from about 425 B.C. to about 366 B.C.

5 Cr. Apuleius, Floridorum 4.23.2.

Letter 166: John to Archdeacon Richard Ilchester of Poitiers

In your prudence you<sup>1</sup> will remember with what high hopes I left you, after you had so sincerely encouraged me by suggesting a way to peace and reconciliation.<sup>2</sup> Since I have not yet learned how near your loyal promise is to its realization, I beg you, as you have hitherto left me wavering uncertainly, not without a considerable expense of time and supplies, please to deliver me finally from this state of anxiety and make me for the future ever obliged to you and yours. If, as a matter of fact, it be safe to return, I am ready to give my lord King<sup>3</sup> entire satisfaction wherever I cannot plead my innocence. Perhaps the confusion due to the clash of arms has kept you from dealing with this matter before now, or perhaps the domestic foe with whom I can never have peace, if so it be.<sup>4</sup> For he did no injury before he had promised friendship and fealty and rich preferments. I beg you, then, to indicate now the extent of my hopes, and what course I should take if another one is now preferable to the one first suggested. If I shall be able to return in any way at all, make arrangements for my safe passage

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1 Richard Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers. Cf. Letters 144, 153, 158.

2 Referring apparently to negotiations before John's meeting with Henry II at Angers, May 1, 1166. Cf. Letter 168.

3 Henry II.

4 This seems to refer to an enemy of John's in the court of Poitiers.

through Kent, and do not forget the threats and the information I mentioned to you while at Paris.

Letter 167: John to Master Ralph of Lisieux

Your<sup>1</sup> letter brought me equal joy and sorrow, but I had recourse in meditation to Him "Who comforteth us in all our tribulation,"<sup>2</sup> and thus turned aside easily and quickly the stings of desolation. The reason for this is that, by God's favor, "my ship is in haven,"<sup>3</sup> and He Who knows not how to fail those who hope in Him is providing plentifully for me beyond and contrary to my deserts, and is providing also (though I do not say it without fear of the divine judgment) what is necessary for His glory. To be truthful, if my merits be examined I am unworthy to "suffer for justice's sake, for of such," as you know, "is the kingdom of heaven."<sup>4</sup> God and my conscience bear witness that I have forfeited this because of my many serious sins, even though the world may think otherwise. Still, I am given license to hope by Him Who chooses the base and the weak,<sup>5</sup> and has allowed me to profess the liberty of the church, advance the claims of justice, and bear witness to the law which states that the faithful need fear neither exile nor proscription for its sake, as long as it prevails. You have at

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1 Ralph of Lisieux, associated with Canterbury and one of the administrators of Archbishop Theobald's will. Cf. Letter 168, and Letter 134 of Millor's edition.

2 Corinthians 2.1.4.

3 Terence, Andria 480. For the translation, cf. Letter 159, note 6.

4 Matthew 5.10.

5 Cf. Corinthians 1.1.28.

hand all the particulars of my case; you know the substance of the oaths demanded of me, too, so that there is no need to delay over any detailed explanation in this regard. But perhaps you will tell me that no one will be obliged to swear in the words of those reprobate customs;<sup>6</sup> that he who exacts the oath will be content with a brief and absolute pledge of inviolate loyalty to himself, so phrased that there will be no clause guaranteeing fidelity to the church or obedience to prelates; the reason being, as they say, that he neither wants nor has wanted to be prejudicial to these persons, since the oath is not demanded of them. But now, if he be not prejudiced why may one not make mention of an observance necessary to salvation? And if he is prejudiced against the church's prelates, with what sort of conscience can this oath be taken by the faithful? "It is the advice of the wise," you say, "both in the interests of peace and avoidance of all suspicion, as well as to procure supplies for necessary activities, that each man be ready to serve his kinsmen and friends." For the favor, then, of friends and of triflers who have deserted me in adversity, should I turn from the Father of mercies, Who has consoled me and now "consoles us in all our tribulation,"<sup>7</sup> or rather, does not even allow us to recognize it as tribulation?

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<sup>6</sup> The Constitutions of Clarendon.

<sup>7</sup> Corinthians 2.1.4.



Others urge me to take the oath, but He counsels me not to: whom do you think I should believe? I certainly think that the advice of the God Who became incarnate and died for me is more reliable and salutary; and I will not be slow to recognize "the hardened brow"<sup>8</sup> of a man who has advanced his own interests for personal reasons. To pass over the other well-known important reasons for my exile and proscription, therefore, I am proscribed because I believed Christ when He advised against my taking oaths.<sup>9</sup> Whoever does not believe Him will be proscribed in far more dangerous wise, for He is as true to His threats as He is to His promises. Still, even though it proceeds from evil,<sup>10</sup> I do not say that every oath is illicit. Sometimes it is pardonable, but only when the circumstances of the case win pardon for the fault involved. I pass over this possibility, leaving it rather to God and the conscience of the individual. If I should weave some rather subtle argument, as reason suggests, I might seem to have wasted my breath to taunt others, perhaps, innocent, who have taken the oath. I had rather put a temperate restraint upon my pen than to heap up citations from the divine law which, even though correctly interpreted, sometimes only injure those who hear it. I turn,

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8 Juvenal 13.242. For the translation cf. Letter 159, note 12.

9 Cf. Matthew 5.34.

10 Cf. Matthew 5.37.

therefore, to other subjects, praying, begging, and beseeching "that thy faith fail thee not,"<sup>11</sup> and that you will not trust the spirit of those who follow their own Neptune,<sup>12</sup> and guided by him hurry to Pluto and "go down alive into hell."<sup>13</sup> For the time being, let them say whatever they wish. Let them boast in their vainglory that they have prevailed against the anointed of the Lord; close at hand is the destruction of those whose "joy" is "but for a moment,"<sup>14</sup> and whose blaze of "glory is dung and worms."<sup>15</sup> With God's assistance, you will soon know how this shall be done, and those to whom Christ's poor were a scorn and a mockery will feel their ears tingle with the scorn and the shouts of the faithful. And, unless you are persuaded perhaps that mortals do not die, you need have no doubt that those who seem to have escaped the snare they deserve for deceitful silence and crafty falsification, will really be put under sentence of anathema. Please remember to assure my friends of this--that is, if any friends are actually mine and not fortune's. Tell them not to weep for me (and I hope they have no cause to weep for themselves), for the All-High has

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<sup>11</sup> Luke 22.32.

<sup>12</sup> Referring probably to Rainold of Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne and leading spirit of the schism against Alexander III; cf. Letter 164. The reference may also be to Barbarossa himself, or even to Henry II as opposing ecclesiastical authority.

<sup>13</sup> Numbers 16.30.

<sup>14</sup> Job 20.5.

<sup>15</sup> Machabees 1.2.62.

finally withdrawn His scourge and is dealing with me as an indulgent father with his favorite son. You, however, have my sympathy, for you have found less security in port than in shipwreck. But if God grants you patience for only a short time, the shipwrecked brethren for whom all hope was lost will very soon (I declare it unhesitatingly) be able and eager to come to your aid. Stay, then, in the state "in which you have been called"<sup>16</sup> by the Lord. Stand out and affirm His law, at least as far as you can without danger. In view of the weakness of our flesh, it is natural enough for me to say this, for the blessed apostle<sup>17</sup> and the whole court of heaven bear witness that only he can be saved who puts the observance of the law above all dangers. I wrote to the man about whom you are worried, and I think you will receive news through the bearer of this letter from the man himself about his circumstances, which, by God's grace, are good. Give a warm greeting to my friends. I am sure that, through my repeated requests, their names have been impressed on the mind of the bearer as though transferred directly from a written page. Farewell.

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<sup>16</sup> Corinthians 1.7.20.

<sup>17</sup> Cr. Corinthians 2.11.26.

Letter 168: John to Master Geoffrey of St. Edmunds

On Easter Sunday<sup>1</sup> I went to Angers to make my peace with the King.<sup>2</sup> Before he received the body of the Lord I took good care to effect your<sup>3</sup> son Richard's<sup>4</sup> reconciliation with him through the abbot of St. Victor of Paris<sup>5</sup> and other religious. Other friends interceded too, in whose reliability at court I had set great store. I had earlier enlisted the aid of Master Walter de l'Isle<sup>6</sup> in this, an excellent man and a dear friend of mine in his own right, and through him of a number of others whose loyalty I thought was firmly founded. The king, in his reverence for God and his respect for the mediators, replied quite amicably; but when he heard that the title of St. Edmunds<sup>7</sup> was involved, he summoned William of Hastings<sup>8</sup> and asked him for a full report, to avoid any misrepresentation. As far as he was able and as far as he dared, Master William presented our case quite favorably. Thereupon his majesty had the lad

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1 April 24, 1166. On Low Sunday, a week later, John together with Herbert Bosham and Philip of Calne presented themselves before Henry II at Angers, but only Philip of Calne succeeded in being reconciled. Cf. Fitz Stephen's life of St. Thomas in Robertson, Becket Materials 3.99.

2 Henry II.

3 Master Geoffrey of St. Edmunds, a kinsman of John. Cf. Letter 106 in Millor's edition.

4 Cf. Letter 138.

5 Ernisius, Abbot of St. Victor, Paris.

6 Custodian of the King's Seal and Vice-chancellor.

7 A Benedictine abbey at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.

8 One of the signatories to the Constitutions of Clarendon.

summoned, to receive his letters of reconciliation in person and bring them back to the royal officials, so that there might be no question of his return to favor. I returned, accordingly, and sent the boy quickly, as God wished and our needs demanded, to Master Walter de l'Isle. May Christ, Who founded the church, repay this man's faith and the charity he has shown us. In faith and love for Him, as conscience is my witness, I am gladly bearing losses, injuries, insults, and exile, whenever there is need; for I am sure that "God is faithful, Who will not suffer you to be tempted above that which you are able,"<sup>9</sup> but out of the very temptation He will draw profit for your salvation and purification for your past life. I am speaking for myself, and for some others whom I know rejoice in all this tribulation often to consider and tell Him, "According to the multitude of my sorrows in my heart, thy comforts have given joy to my soul."<sup>10</sup> By God's grace we suffer, not as adulterers or murderers,<sup>11</sup> not as arsonists or committers of sacrilege,<sup>12</sup> but as Christians. The world counts this faith of ours folly, and constancy therein, stubbornness; they brand the profession of truth with the name and note of vanity, and try to sully religion by calling

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9 Corinthians 1.10.13.

10 Psalms 93.19.

11 Cf. Peter 1.4.15.

12 Cf. Romans 2.22.

it hypocrisy, superstition, or some other falsehood. But the prince of apostles thinks otherwise, and teaches the contrary: "For this," he says, "is thankworthy before God; for unto this you are called by Christ...that you should follow His steps."<sup>13</sup> "But if also you suffer anything for justice's sake, blessed are ye."<sup>14</sup> Soon, dear friend, soon the judge of men's consciences will be here to give each one what he has deserved. Then the hidden purposes of each man's life will be made clear, no matter what the world may prate of now. In the meanwhile, please ask help for me by your own prayers and those of the holy men of your acquaintance, so that if I am "where there is no passing"<sup>15</sup> (though I do not think I am), Christ, the Way of the just, may bring me back to the Way which is Himself;<sup>16</sup> and that if I am on the way, He may bring me to life through success or failure, whatever be His good pleasure. If you see Master Walter, thank him as fervently as you can, personally and through your friends, especially Count Geoffrey,<sup>17</sup> for whom he has a high esteem. If you have an opportunity, receive him and have others receive him as an angel of the Lord;<sup>18</sup> for, in my opinion, he is himself a minister of God, and at court he

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<sup>13</sup> Peter 1.2.20.

<sup>14</sup> Peter 1.3.14.

<sup>15</sup> Psalms 106.40

<sup>16</sup> Cf. John 14.6.

<sup>17</sup> Geoffrey de Mandeville, Earl of Essex, died in 1167.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Galatians 4.14.

consoles Christ's members in as many ways as possible. He will be able to give some estimate of the mediators your boy has found, and of what my present condition is. I hope you will lay the blame on my ill fortune and not on myself, that I could not show him any further kindness; may he soon find better friends! I helped him as much as circumstances would allow. I hear that Master Walter is bound by oath not to receive letters or messengers from those in exile. You can see from this the vile constraint which will not permit good men to fulfill the precepts of the divine law, that is, the offices of charity.

Letter 169: John to His Brother Richard

Were I not to include my love and my prayers in the salutation or a letter to you,<sup>1</sup> I would deservedly seem to have precluded the happiness of my own well being,<sup>2</sup> for it cannot exist without yours. When, then, in the vein of familiar correspondence my letterhead offers no such salutation, it is not meant to indicate any lack of charity or growth of faintheartedness on my part, but rather a regard for your own difficult position. To satisfy my wishes for you, therefore, may the All-High keep you with a share in that health which the fruitful Virgin (whose heart I am convinced was and is wholly without stain)<sup>3</sup> wished for her Son with truest charity. Perhaps you have been wondering along with the crowd, or grieving with my friends, because I did not accept the terms of reconciliation which they say his Serenity the English king offered me,<sup>4</sup> especially since better and more learned may not only have accepted these terms, but have grasped at them eagerly. Remember, though, that I was offered reconciliation on the same terms that Naas,<sup>5</sup> (which is translated "serpent"<sup>6</sup>) of the sons of

1 John's brother Richard. Cf. preceding letters.

2 A play on the words "salutatio" and "salus."

3 Apparently indicative of John's belief in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

4 The peace terms offered by Henry II at Angers. Cf. Letter 168.

5 Cf. Kings 1.11.1.

6 This interpretation and the following are taken from St. Jerome's work De Nominibus Hebraicis. Cf. Migne, Patrologia Latina volume 23.



Amon, (that is, "straitening" or "confining" or "the people of grier"), wanted to strike a treaty with the inhabitants of Jabes, ("dried up"), in Galaad, (that is, a "flood of testimony"). "On this condition will I make a covenant with you,"<sup>7</sup> he said, "that I may pluck out all your right eyes, and make you a reproach" among all the sons and lands of Israel. I could have regained what I think was unjustly taken from me, were I willing to count eternal values as wholly secondary and bind the freedom of the spirit by an evil and highly dangerous oath. "Each one abounds in his own sense."<sup>8</sup> I do not hesitate to busy my right eye in looking at the things of heaven, with faith in what is not seen and hope in what is to come, and to turn my left eye to things perishable and transitory and passed by in a moment of time. Those other men have been graciously received, and with God's help can be saved in the sincerity of their faith; but I could not have met the required conditions, as demanded, without impairing my salvation and my good name. I turn to the Lord, therefore, and hope that "tomorrow, when the sun shall be hot, there shall be relief"<sup>9</sup> for me too; for the Lord will reveal "the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts,"<sup>10</sup> and each man's

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7 Kings 1.11.2.

8 Romans 14.5.

9 Kings 1.11.9.

10 Corinthians 1.4.5.

justice or wrongdoing will return upon him. Even though Naas with his Ammonites, the people of grief and sons of Gehenna, presses upon us during this week of days, yet Christ will soon be here, and will be consoled in His elect, as now, for the moment, He suffers with them. Be consoled, then, my beloved; beloved, be consoled. For if you endure this for a little while, their place shall not be found,<sup>11</sup> for "the wicked shall vanish like smoke."<sup>12</sup> If this interval of waiting tortures you, however, depending on your own judgment and the advice of the Bishop,<sup>13</sup> you may turn "from the oppressor"<sup>14</sup> and come to me. If this is your decision, I will embrace you on your arrival with the open arms of charity; I will consider you not only a partner in everything I have, but as guardian and mentor of myself and mine (as far as you will allow), and will look on you, if you will permit the expression, with the affection due a father. You will learn the rest of the details from other letters. Do not hesitate to send your own letters through the usual channels. The French king<sup>15</sup> and church have shown our fellow-exiles many a kindness; I hope you will find your fellow-citizens and the household of the promised faith<sup>16</sup>

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11 Psalms 36.10.

12 Psalms 36.20.

13 Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter. Cf. Letters 136, 153, 159.

14 Isaias 19.20.

15 Louis VII.

16 Cf. Galatians 6.10.

no less kind! Though you have many brothers, still if need should require, you will find none of them more kind than I, for none is closer to you by blood and none, to my mind, by charity either. Remember me to my friends, and urge the saints to communicate to our necessities<sup>17</sup> and to lighten them by their intercession. May the All-High grant you the continual happy fulfillment of your prayers.

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. Romans 12.13.

Letter 170: John to Bishop John Belmeis of Poitiers

It is true that that mother of news, Dame Fortune, and Rumor, that nurses and spreads stories true and imaginary, have ushered in nothing worth telling or worth bringing to your<sup>1</sup> attention; but even so, I have been forced to write because of a gloomy report. It is by far the saddest thing I have heard or seen, as God and my conscience are witness to my words, since our good and, I hope, ever blessed lord and master<sup>2</sup> departed this life. And I say this even though my lot has been to be exposed to every danger and to be tossed about by one storm after another ever since the day the dispensation of Providence took our lord and father away from us. And what is this report? Some of my companions who are stopping at Paris wrote to me recently, saying that they had heard from certain rumormongers that you have been forced to take to your bed through an illness brought on, not by a natural happening or any ordinary human mishap, but by villainous poisoners, who were somehow prompted to mix a toxic draught for you and for a certain religious.<sup>3</sup> They even say that the religious has already died of it. Since I had long been hearing of the envy of some of those who live with you, and know the cruelty of others

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1 John Belmeis, Bishop of Poitiers from 1162 to 1181, and Archbishop of Lyons from 1181 to 1193.

2 Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, who died April 18, 1161.

3 A prior, as John says in the following letter, 171.

(even now I recall the insolent ambition of not a few), I feared, and do fear, and until the truth is more surely ascertained will continue to fear sorely that the devil and his angels, who at present storm against the church almost at will, have been permitted even to this extent to vent their fury against good men. I was afraid earlier that the church holdings would be taken from you, that the wicked would confiscate your property, and that they who deem lawful whatever they have a fancy for would force even you to go into exile with the faithful sons of the church. But see how, of my two fears for the same lord and friend, the greater is blacking out and quite absorbing the other! This strikes me just as though a sword pierced my own heart,<sup>4</sup> as though "my shoulder fell from its joint, and my arm with its bones"<sup>5</sup> were crushed. My mind will have no rest until I learn the truth. I hope that your Reverence will be pleased to inform me of your condition with all speed, for I shall be quite sick with anxiety until I hear. If you yourself have no time to answer this, though I hope you will have, I beg you to have the master of the schools<sup>6</sup> attend to it with care and dispatch.

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4 Cf. Luke 2.35.

5 Job 31.22.

6 Raymond, the chancellor of Poitiers. Cf. Letter 171.

Letter 171: John to Master Raymond, Chancellor of Poitiers

There is a galling rumor that has been festering and trying me sorely, and will give me no rest until I learn by letter from you<sup>1</sup> the true state of the matter which is worrying me. Friends of mine at Paris have written that those who seek the life of my lord of Poitiers<sup>2</sup> have employed some persons and some altogether cowardly and cursed trick to give him a poisoned drink. They say that a certain prior<sup>3</sup> who shared the cup has already died, and that the bishop is in a state of collapse. I was and am sick with fear, since I have heard that certain persons are envious of him, and that one of the bishops of Poitiers was also recently despatched by poison. I do not know whether this rumor has any foundation, but I do know that some men are so cruel that neither neighbor nor stranger can fail to observe it. Everyone knows how overbearing, insolent, and heedless of the fear of God blind ambition is; and hence I seem to have more reasons for dread than for confidence. I pray you, then, to write me all the news as quickly as you can, and to prevail on my lord bishop, if he is not too ill (which heaven forbid!) to write personally whatever seems timely. I wanted to ask yourself and him to write to me what was said for

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1 Raymond, chancellor of Poitiers under John Belmeis.

2 John Belmeis. Cf. Letter 170.

3 Apparently the same person referred to as "a certain religious" in the preceding letter.

and against me at the conference of Chinon<sup>4</sup> and afterwards, and what you think of my absenting myself as I did, and refusing to accept the reconciliation which the others accepted under the oath and conditions imposed. I have not received any letters from you, you know, since that time. But this more urgent reason which now brings me to write has absorbed all such worries. Even so, though, if my lord bishop is in health and safety (and may God grant it), I will be greatly obliged to receive an answer to those other questions. However (for I cannot rid myself of the anxiety), if, as I have heard, my lord bishop happens to be ill (and may God avert it!), take every means as a wise and prudent man to have him show himself a Christian in this crisis, to await death, if need be, as a priest of Christ, and with his house in order to accept patiently nature's last inevitable demand. I am confident in our Lord Jesus Christ, that He Who gave him the prudence to pass safely through temporal prosperity will, at the end of his course, give him the grace to make his death an example to all who must die, as his life has been a bright example to all who lived with him. No argument will ever give a truer proof of loyal faith and devotion than a man who makes it his aim and effort to help his beloved fellow exiles in the flesh and pilgrims of the Lord by spurring them on to virtue and giving out-

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<sup>4</sup> Held on June 1, 1166.

standing examples of good works, especially near the end of the road, supporting and pushing them on with the two arms of charity as they pass across and ascend to Christ. If, however, through God's mercy you are in happier circumstances, I beg you earnestly to try every means to bring our interpreter<sup>5</sup> to translate in his own style and correct what is left of the Hierarchies,<sup>6</sup> one book of which he has already translated. Those in France who saw what he already sent on are quite well pleased with it. I had intended to write more, but my haste will not allow it.

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<sup>5</sup> John Sarrazin.

<sup>6</sup> That is, Dionysius the pseudo-Areopagite's work On the Celestial and Ecclesiastical Hierarchies. Cf. Letter 142, and Letter 233 in Millor's edition.



Letter 172: John to Archdeacon Richard Ilchester of Poitiers

My thanks to your worship<sup>1</sup> for the letters which my servant brought from you on his return. They bore many signs of trust and charity, composed, as it seemed, in a spirit which made each word and dotted "i" cry out unmistakably that it was addressed to a friend in rich and sincere regard. But in your letter, as in that of my lord bishop,<sup>2</sup> there were many subjects which could cause anxiety to one who loves you--hopes for the bishop's full recovery,<sup>3</sup> for example, which had not yet come about; what decision had been reached in his reconciliation with the king;<sup>4</sup> what mention was made of my own recall; and many other matters in this vein, in which you have humored me as your friend. For this reason I have dispatched the bearer of this letter to you, to inform me through your letters, if you will, about the matters mentioned above and whatever else bears on your own circumstances or the public welfare. Following your advice, I have purposely sent a man who is known to few or none among you, and who has proved loyal to myself and mine in every way. He has been instructed to undertake the business of Master Walter, a cleric of my lord of Rheims,<sup>5</sup> to collect the

1 Richard Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers. Cf. Letters 144, 153, 158, 166.

2 John Belmeis, Bishop of Poitiers. Cf. Letter 170.

3 In reference to the rumor that the bishop had been poisoned. Cf. Letters 170, 171.

4 Henry II of England.

5 Henry of France, Archbishop of Rheims from 1162 to 1175.

books which this same Walter had lent to Master Peter Hely,<sup>6</sup> and about which I spoke to you at Angers and submitted a memorandum. As conditions require, you can now deal with him as a page from the house of the Archbishop of Rheims.<sup>7</sup> I shall feel a continued carking anxiety, however, that demands his speedy return and will give my mind no rest until I learn something about the above questions. If my lord bishop achieved the full reconciliation which was hoped for, (and for the honor of God and the church I very much hope he has), please let me know by this messenger how the witnesses were chosen and what conditions were imposed. What I fear and, what is more, still fear in every article of the conditions which have been proposed, is quite clear from the letter I sent my lord bishop. Even so, however, I think no one wise who would advise against a peace which is possible in the Lord, and does not detract from one's reputation in the eyes of "man's day."<sup>8</sup> I hope indeed that there will be peace with clear conscience and unsullied name in our day, but a peace which is neither pretended nor short-lived. But neither of these is in your power, for one depends on your adversary<sup>9</sup> and the other upon God. How he with whom you conduct business was wont to bless his friends and those who deal

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6 The rhetorician who had taught John. Cf. John's Metalogicon page 80, in Webb's edition.

7 The Archbishop referred to as "my lord of Rheims" above.

8 Corinthians 1.4.3.

9 That is, Henry II.

with him, from the moment they submit to his will even to the loss of their own reputation and conscience, is clear from many examples. For this reason I consider it far more dangerous than unthinking men imagine, to jettison for his promises any part of conscience or reputation, which, once injured, cannot be easily healed. Wounds in either one of them are almost always fatal, so that they are spoken of almost more as a bodily disease than a judgment of the mind. The verdicts of this judge are more deadly than those that dissolve the union of soul and body, as we hear even from one who, far from being a Christian, is a heathen: "...Count it the greatest of all sins to prefer life to honor, and to lose, for the sake of living, all that makes life worth having."<sup>10</sup> With all the earnestness in me, then, I beg you that if any steps are taken toward my reconciliation, it come in a form in which there will be no offense to God, and in which my reputation (which, I dare not say I, but rather God, has so far kept unstained for me) may for the future too be kept untarnished in men's eyes. If such a way can be found, I will thank God, and you, and everyone who has worked for it. But if there is question of oaths, my lord bishop knows how delicate my conscience is in such matters. Would I be able to swear, then, in the words which are pre-

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<sup>10</sup> From Juvenal 8.83-84. For the translation, cf. Letter 159, note 12.

scribed, or rather the words in which salvation is prescribed, and which, so I hear, is demanded of and given by others--when it is permitted to make exception neither for God nor the law nor one's order?<sup>11</sup> Who would take such an oath to observe impious constitutions and laws that ignore or contravene the law of God? Who but an unbeliever and scoffer of all the sacraments? I would certainly think that a man who bound himself by oath to observe the sacred canons or even to follow the gospel itself was much too rash and headstrong, and was throwing himself into a thousand snares of damnation; unless, perhaps, he be greater than he who in the consciousness of his own weakness and in witness of our own humbly admits that "in many things we all offend."<sup>12</sup> If the question of my past conduct should be brought up, I do not deny that I have given the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>13</sup> the loyal service due him as my lord and father; I only wish that I had offered it with greater effect. With God's help, no gain or loss whatever shall induce me to deny or abjure my master, whoever he be, and thus soil my life, and even the very memory of my good name and my people, before God and man. Many people tell me, however, that if I do not do

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11 In reference to the "saving clause" (i.e., "saving our order") with which Archbishop Thomas and the other English bishops were prepared to promise observance of the Constitutions of Clarendon. Cf. Cambridge Medieval History 5.558.

12 James 3.2.

13 Thomas Becket.

this and conform to the conditions mentioned above, reconciliation will be very difficult or impossible. Please take great care, therefore, you and my lord bishop, that if my recall is arranged, any unjust and dangerous conditions will be withdrawn. I, in turn, in everything possible without danger to my salvation and good name, will follow the advice of my lord bishop and yourself, wherever it does not contradict his. I would not wish to set out for the court to make my peace, however, unless I were to have some acquaintance with the terms of it beforehand. The reason is that my straitened domestic circumstances and my correspondence, which brings me both solace and subsidy, allow neither great expense nor long absence. My means are more slender than usual, but my obligations are no fewer. Help is growing more infrequent, though it has been very infrequent from the outset. On my trip to Angers and at the king's Easter conference<sup>14</sup> I spent thirteen pounds and lost two reserved for my retinue, not to mention the work, annoyances, and delays at court. And what pains me more, it was all for nothing. Both the effort and the expense were thrown away. If possible, I do not want to incur another such outlay of time and money. You will be able to learn of my present circumstances in part from the bearer of this letter; there has not been much change. I have not lost hope for my

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14 April 24 and May 1, 1166. Cf. Letter 168.

lord of Canterbury's cause, for he himself is doing penance for what he did at court, and has not lost hope in the Lord; nor, to my mind, is he "making flesh his arm."<sup>15</sup> I think myself, that the Lord is holding back the final remedy because he is not yet bereft of all human aid. Master Gerard<sup>16</sup> is calling upon me to go to Cologne,<sup>17</sup> without compromising my loyalty to the church of Rome; but, with the help of my good Jesus, no gain is great enough to make me join schismatics and take the side of schism for the overthrow of the Lord's house. Nevertheless, I do not consider Gerard himself in any way a schismatic, for his letters give clear and open proof of his faith. I am sending a copy of them to my lord bishop, suppressing the writer's name so that no harm will come to him or to others if the letters are made public. I am sure you would sympathize with me if you knew the anxieties that fill my mind. Even so, though, as God is my witness, I am not so anxious about in my regard for my friends, even though I am living among the hard of heart; for as far as I myself am concerned, my correspondence would insure my own upkeep, were it not for the claims of others to whose necessities I ought to communicate.<sup>18</sup> In case

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<sup>15</sup> Jeremias 17.5.

<sup>16</sup> Gerard Pucelle, later Bishop of Coventry from 1183 to 1184. Cf. Letter 164.

<sup>17</sup> That is, to the schismatics of Cologne, headed by Barbarossa's chancellor Rainold or Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Romans 12.13.

you did not know, the other Belgian province, which is now called Rheims, is termed in ancient histories the Duricordium province,<sup>19</sup> although, considering some of its inhabitants, it could as well be called the Mollicordium province.<sup>20</sup> Certainly no one well acquainted with the archbishop and his household could make out any kind of case against them for hardness of heart. But tell me, who of our own friends, old and native born, has not proved to be of the tribe of the hard hearted? Perhaps you will not believe what I say, but it is certainly true. Master Geoffrey's son<sup>21</sup> has been in exile with me for eight months, but when my messenger from the Bishop of Norwich<sup>22</sup> and the abbot of St. Edmunds<sup>23</sup> went out of his way to call on him, not one single note for me could he get from him. God knows, nevertheless, that I have not asked for anything from any one of them; and I can take satisfaction in the fact that since the beginning of my proscription there has been so far not one rebuff to embarrass me. In the light of these and the foregoing considerations, reason can see its way, but I would pour myself out wholly in affectionate correspondence, did not

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19 That is, "hard-hearted." This seems to be a corruption of the name Durocotorum given the province by Caesar, Gallie Wars 4.43.

20 Which would mean "soft-hearted."

21 Richard, a son of Master Geoffrey mentioned in Letter 168.

22 William Turbe. Cf. Letter 150.

23 Hugo, abbot of St. Edmunds. Cr. Letter 187 in Millor's edition.

modesty and the claims of business (from which I have snatched even this short interval) force me to say from my heart: Farewell.



Letter 173: John to his Brother Richard

I am making this letter to you<sup>1</sup> a very brief one, since you will be able to learn of my circumstances as well from the letter I have sent my lord bishop,<sup>2</sup> as from the personal account of the bearer of this one. But as soon as something worth the telling occurs, I will make no delay in letting you know. In the meantime, take care to look well to the advice and wishes of my lord bishop and the archdeacon Master Baldwin,<sup>3</sup> and the opinions of other friends, too. From these, with the Lord's help, either write to tell me or follow out yourself whatever course seems most expedient. Do not be disturbed at my exile, but remember that "we brought nothing into this world,"<sup>4</sup> and will not even carry anything out. May God make our cause just, as I am sure it is; for I find my own condition not only tolerable but pleasant, especially when I consider the reason for it. I do not say I have not deserved worse, but the persecutor<sup>5</sup> has not offered it to me. If this has happened in punishment for sin, I gladly receive the strokes to purify me; if it is a trial of patience, I hope it will serve to gain the

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1 Richard, who had gone into exile with John in 1164, had returned to Exeter after making his peace with Henry II, though not recovering full favor. He rejoined John in 1166.

2 Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter. Cf. Letter 153.

3 Baldwin, then Archdeacon of Exeter. Cf. Letter 160.

4 Timothy 1.6.7.

5 That is, Henry II.

crown. If I am afflicted in order that my pride be crushed, I know that a devout and humble man mounts up to glory. Men agree that every scourge helps him who suffers it, because it makes his spirit readier to despise the world and practice virtue; for if, on the other hand, he hardens his heart, there is the thought of fiercer hellfire. Stupid fellows think that a man's merits should be evaluated by the outcome of his actions, since the just are to the unjust "in derision, and for a parable of reproach."<sup>6</sup> But wait for a little while, and "in time there shall be respect had to them."<sup>7</sup> Even in the meanwhile "there is no peace to the wicked,"<sup>8</sup> and by a very just judgment of God they who persecute justice are dashed together, laid low, crushed, and perish--all at the hands of one another. But the just man will triumph over his enemies even when he sleeps, and this triumph will be greater in proportion to his innocence. "Who hath hoped in the Lord" "and hath been forsaken?"<sup>9</sup> Though that man be sought from the dawn of time, he will not be found even on the last day.

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<sup>6</sup> Wisdom 5.3.

<sup>7</sup> Wisdom 3.6.

<sup>8</sup> Isaias 48.22; 57.21.

<sup>9</sup> Ecclesiasticus 2.11, 12. One clause is taken from each verse.

Letter 174: John to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter

Although, in the vein of familiar correspondence, the heading of this letter offers no wishes for your<sup>1</sup> health, still nothing holds a dearer place in my wishes and prayers than that your ways may continually prosper in the Lord. The salutation due my lord and father has no wise been omitted through any lack or lessening of charity, but by an often granted indulgence, and by the considerate regard that eases the duties of another and tempers every well-conditioned relationship. The reason for this indulgence is so obvious that it need not be declared at all, or had best be mentioned only briefly; for there are pitfalls, they say, at every turn, so that no exchange of words or letters among good men can be safe. Wickedness is plotting some vain trick or another against innocence, and goaded on by the unceasing sting of a seared conscience, suspects everyone and everything. And rightly and deservedly so, for there should be "no peace to the wicked"<sup>2</sup> so long as justice battles and prevails over her enemies. Certainly "that which the wicked feareth shall come upon him"<sup>3</sup> and "the just shall be delivered out of distress,"<sup>4</sup>

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1 Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter. Cf. Letter 160.

2 Isaias 48.22; 57.21.

3 Proverbs 10.24.

4 Proverbs 11.8.

"because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it."<sup>5</sup> For the moment the fury of this storm against the church is raging at will, and the wicked seem to be prevailing against the Lord. But soon Christ, Whom they are persecuting, will so repay them what they deserve that you will see the arm of the balance dip in favor of vengeance, and not so much weigh delicately those whom He shall "mightily torment"<sup>6</sup> as rather "overwhelm" them "with the weight of His greatness."<sup>7</sup> Not, of course, that He will do them any injustice, but that on those who sin beyond mean or measure He will impose an immeasurable and unbounded punishment. Let no one think that I am prophesying for the distant future, although for that matter the truth, as well as the authority, of the divine oracle continues unbroken. Is it not plain to see that to some extent that judgment is already under way, and that the sentence has already been ordered put into execution? Would the German tyrant<sup>8</sup> not have overturned the world recently by the might of his name, subdue almost all the neighboring kingdoms and terrify even the empire of the Greeks, so that he seemed to offer surrender rather than alliance to the legations that were sent to him? But see now, how by God's grace he is no longer so much dreaded. He who by

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5 Isaias 1.20.

6 Wisdom 6.7.

7 Job 23.6.

8 Frederick Barbarossa.

a mere nod was wont to terrify princes near and far cannot keep his own Teutons from wrongdoing. He who by only a word used to decree war and peace for whole peoples at his whim now congratulates himself if his own men have exchanged pledges of amity. For, as he himself complains, ever since he went to St. Jean-de-Losne<sup>9</sup> to withdraw the French king<sup>10</sup> and church from the faith and turn them to his own heresy to adore his idol,<sup>11</sup> his success has ceased. The fortune which exalted him has begun to waver towards his downfall, and it is the hope of the faithful that, for the honor of God, he will soon fall still further until Christ, Whose spouse he is persecuting, tramples him to dust beneath His feet. And in England, too, is not judgment already being exacted of the church's tormentors? Think how great the English king<sup>12</sup> was when he seemed "a little one in his own eyes,"<sup>13</sup> and made at least a show of faith in and reverence for the church of God; you will recall that ~~then~~ he was frustrated in none of his undertakings. "His

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9 Count Henry of Champagne, brother-in-law of Louis VII of France, had agreed with Barbarossa to try to replace Alexander III by the anti-pope Victor IV. In pursuance of this plot he tried to arrange a meeting between Barbarossa and Louis VII, each accompanied by his own Pope, on a bridge that crossed the Saone at St. Jean-de-Losne, August 29, 1162, at which a mixed commission of clergy and laymen was to judge between the two Pontiffs. Alexander III refused to accompany Louis VII, and the affair was abandoned.

10 Louis VII.

11 Cardinal Octavian, the antipope Victor IV. Cf. Daniel 3.5.

12 Henry II.

13 Kings 1.15.17.

arrow did not turn back,"<sup>14</sup> his shield did not fall in battle, and his spear was not turned aside. He "couched as a lion"<sup>15</sup> over his prey, and no one dared "to rouse him." The very sight of him terrified his foes; his neighbors bowed in homage; princes from afar sought his friendship. He was revered by his own, honored by strangers, and extolled by everyone. Good men esteemed him, and the clergy in particular revered him to the utmost, respected him in the highest degree possible, and with one mind esteemed him "above the love of women."<sup>16</sup> In short, in the eyes of men he enjoyed an abundance of everything that could be desired. He was free from all fear and anxiety, except what sprang not from need or reason but from willfulness or passion. But to what end has he amassed all these gifts, if he continues in this present position of his without repentance or satisfaction? Not to mention the injuries done to other sees, which he had struck in ignorance (as it was thought) or on the pretext of royal prerogative, when he was preparing to wage the War of Toulouse<sup>17</sup> he obliged all the churches, contrary to long-standing custom and the exemption they deserved, to contribute to the scutage in the amount he and his satellites would determine. He did not even allow the churches to be put on an equal footing

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14 Kings 2.1.22.

15 Genesis 49.9.

16 Kings 2.1.26.

17 The occasion of the Great Scutage of 1159.

with the nobility in this levy, or rather extortion, which was as unnecessary as it was unjust. The former were treated more harshly, as though unworthy of their possessions or of honor. But what success did he gain with this wealth of money he had procured by such extortion and injustice? Was it not "thrown into a bag with holes?"<sup>18</sup> to help the enemy who picked it up, and to be not only useless but even harmful to him who lost it? Did not his good fortune double back and his rich successes drop away from that day forward? But someone will say that this forced scutage and this exaction on the churches should be blamed entirely on his chancellor,<sup>19</sup> who is now either an archbishop, as I believe, or is trying to become one, as the envious falsely assert. At that time, they say, he was influencing the king to do everything as he himself wished, and was the cause of this evil as he was of many others. Now even though I know that this is untrue, inasmuch as I know that he was not lending his authority to the king's desires then, but was bowing to the unavoidable; nevertheless, since I have no doubt that he was a minister of wickedness, I think it entirely just that in these matters he be punished chiefly at the hands of the man whom he put before God, the Author of all good things, and that with the roles reversed the man whom he thought of and praised as the

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<sup>18</sup> Aggeus 1.6.

<sup>19</sup> Thomas Becket was at that time Henry's chancellor.

originator of his own perversity be now the source of his punishment. In the heart and on the lips of the wise is that often quoted saying from the Book of Wisdom, "By what things a man sinneth, by the same also he is punished."<sup>20</sup> Thus Cain, the first murderer, was slain;<sup>21</sup> Chanaan, who enslaved others, was condemned to everlasting slavery;<sup>22</sup> Pharaoh was drowned with the soldiers through whom he had drowned the Hebrew innocents,<sup>23</sup> and there are many more examples along this line. But see, now he (the chancellor) is doing penance, now he acknowledges and confesses his fault, and if he once attacked the church with Saul, with Paul he is now ready to give his life for it.<sup>24</sup> Who then will deny that judgment has already begun in the house of the Lord, now that the princes of the people are hung up in the sun on gibbets to show the gentiles the justice of God?<sup>25</sup> Are not the princes of the people these two, one of whom dispenses spiritual things while the other manages the temporal? Is not the law of this dispensation and ministry entrusted to them to administer? These are the two cherubim who look toward one another and overshadow the law and the propitiatory with

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<sup>20</sup> Wisdom 11.17.

<sup>21</sup> Perhaps based on Genesis 4.14: "Omnis igitur qui invenerit me, occidet me." Cf. Letter 176, line 135, of Millor's edition.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Genesis 9.25.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Exodus 15.19.

<sup>24</sup> For St. Paul's conversion, cf. Acts 9.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Numbers 25.4.



their wings.<sup>26</sup> Their faces, however, are turned toward the propitiatory, for thus in the sight of one another they should take pleasure in constantly watching and revering God's law in the ark of their own hearts, and not allow God's propitiatory to take harm, either for their own mutual interest or for any other reason. One may not turn his face away from the propitiatory. If the Lord has found wickedness even among His own angels, and punishes it, who doubts that the cases of His subjects are aired before the All-High or have already been so aired? Run over in your mind the many great opponents the Lord has raised up against his majesty since he lifted up his heel<sup>27</sup> against God for the ruin of the church; you will be quite astonished and, if you are wise, you will revere God's judgment. He has picked no emperors, no kings, no national leaders to break him. He has picked Britons, the remotest of men; first the Welsh,<sup>28</sup> and after them He roused to opposition and open hostility the very men who used to "venerate his footsteps."<sup>29</sup> This He did "that no flesh might glory in His sight"<sup>30</sup> but "that the name of the Lord might be blessed evermore."<sup>31</sup> In this same way, to punish Solomon's ingratitude

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26 Cf. Exodus 37.7.

27 Cf. John 13.18.

28 Referring to the failure of Henry's expedition of 1165 to suppress the coalition of Owen Gwynedd and Rhys ap Gruffydd.

29 Cf. Statius, Thebaid 12.817.

30 Corinthians 1.1.29.

31 Psalms 71.17; Daniel 2.20.

when he turned from the Lord,<sup>32</sup> He did not raise up princes against him, but brigands and abject slaves. Let no one think, then, that his majesty will enjoy prosperity henceforth unless with God's help he is converted through penance and adopts a more God-fearing line of conduct. The prophet says that in our own day and country "the princes of Tanis"<sup>33</sup> have been shown to be fools who have given their king stupid counsel. He is tormented with uncertainty at every turn, but the war he is pushing against Christ and the church weighs on him still more, and seems an unending, hopeless labyrinth. Recently he called to the conference at Chinon<sup>34</sup> his potentates and intimates who are known to be practised and unflinching in wickedness, and skilled in speaking and doing evil. With repeated promises, threats, and oaths, he asked them carefully what strategy he should use against the church. He complained bitterly of the Archbishop of Canterbury, groaning, sighing, and, as some who were present afterwards said, even weeping when he said that the Archbishop was taking both body and soul from him. At last he said that anyone who would not help him materially and by personal effort to rid himself of one plaguing man was a traitor.<sup>35</sup> Hereupon

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32 Cf. Kings 3.11.14 and the following.

33 Isaias 19.13.

34 On June 1, 1166. Cf. Letter 171.

35 Note the similarity between this exclamation and the one which led to Becket's murder some four years later.

my lord of Rouen<sup>36</sup> flared up a bit against this and took him to task; he did so more mildly than was his wont, however, and "in a spirit of meekness,"<sup>37</sup> though the cause of God rather demanded that severity and the authority of a prince of the church be applied to a disease of failing faith and reason. The king's pangs were the sharper, too, from the dread he had conceived at the letters which the above-mentioned lord of Canterbury had sent to him and to his mother.<sup>38</sup> A copy of them is being forwarded to you. He was afraid, and with good reason, that by the authority and command of the sovereign pontiff a sentence of interdict would be promptly pronounced against his country, and one of anathema against his person. The Bishop of Lisieux<sup>39</sup> said that in such a crisis the one remedy was to anticipate the impending sentence by an appeal. I do not know how it happens, unless that the more truth is harrassed the stronger it grows, or that justice gains power proportionate to the beating it receives, but nevertheless, while the king is trying to annul the right of appeal by those hereditary "customs,"<sup>40</sup> he is actually strengthening it the more, since he is forced to take refuge in an appeal to save his own head. Coming from this council, then, the bishops of Lisieux and of

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<sup>36</sup> Rotrou de Beaumont, Archbishop of Rouen from 1165 to 1183.

<sup>37</sup> Galatians 6.1.

<sup>38</sup> The Empress Mathilda. Cf. Letter 155.

<sup>39</sup> Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux from 1141 to 1181.

<sup>40</sup> That is, the Constitutions of Clarendon.

Seez<sup>41</sup> left the face of their God and their king and hurried to the oft-mentioned lord of Canterbury to file their appeal and hold off his sentence until the octave day of Easter.<sup>42</sup> My lord of Rouen set out with them not, as he says, to appeal, but to negotiate the peace he longs for. Our own archbishop, however, with everything in readiness to level his sentence, made a trip to Soissons. This he did to commend his struggle to the Blessed Virgin, whose memory is held in honor there; to St. Drausius,<sup>43</sup> to whom warriors have recourse on the eve of battle; and to St. Gregory,<sup>44</sup> founder of the English church, who is buried in that city. St. Drausius is a famous confessor whom the French and the Lotharingians believe renders righters who spend a night's vigil in his memory invincible. Such men fly to him even from Burgundy and Italy; Robert de Mountfort<sup>45</sup> himself kept a vigil in his honor when he was going to fight against Henry of Essex.<sup>46</sup> In this way, therefore, at the Lord's hands the efforts of the king's bishops went for naught; for

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41 Frogerius, Bishop of Seez from 1157 to 1184.

42 That is, until Low Sunday, April 16, 1167.

43 St. Drausius, Bishop of Soissons from 658 to 676.

44 Gregory the Great, Pope from 590 to 604.

45 In 1163 Robert accused Henry of Essex of high treason at the battle of Consilt, 1157, by letting the standard fall in battle. The accusation was decided by ordeal by battle; but, although Henry fell before Robert's lance, he was allowed to be removed from the field by the monks of Reading. Later, when he was proved to be still alive, he was permitted to remain at the abbey as a brother.

46 King's constable for Henry II. Cf. the preceding note.

when they arrived at Pontigny they failed to find the archbishop to whom they wanted to appeal, and returned frustrated, complaining that they had spent their labor and resources without achieving anything. As for the archbishop, when he had kept a three nights' vigil in honor of the memory of the saints I mentioned, he hurried to Vezelay the day after the Ascension,<sup>47</sup> to pronounce sentence of anathema on Pentecost<sup>48</sup> against the king and his minions. It happened providentially, however, that while he was at the church of Rigny<sup>49</sup> the Friday before Pentecost, he received a wholly certain and credible report that his English majesty was very seriously ill and could not attend the conference with the king of France which he had tried so hard and with so many presents to arrange. It was said that he had sent Richard of Poitiers<sup>50</sup> and Richard of Hommet<sup>51</sup> to plead his excuses and to take an oath to confirm this reason for his absence. In deference to his majesty's illness, therefore, when the archbishop had learned of it from a messenger from the French king, he postponed pronouncement of the sentence against the king, as your John<sup>52</sup> had suggested earlier when he advised him not to be in a hurry to impose penalties. He publicly announced the excommunication of John

47 June 3, 1166.

48 June 12, 1166.

49 A Cistercian monastery in the diocese of Auxerre.

50 Richard of Ilchester, archdeacon of Poitiers. Cf. Letter 172

51 Constable of Normandy.

52 Perhaps John of Salisbury.

of Oxford, however, excommunicating him by the authority of the Roman pontiff because (to use his own words) he had fallen into heresy by offering the Emperor<sup>53</sup> a sacrilegious oath, had communicated with the schismatic of Cologne,<sup>54</sup> and had usurped the deanry of the church of Salisbury contrary to the command of my lord pope.<sup>55</sup> These were the reasons he alleged from the pulpit in the hearing of all who had come to Vezelay from various countries for the festival. At the same time, for various just reasons he excommunicated Richard, archdeacon of Poitiers, Richard de Lucy,<sup>56</sup> Jocelin of Balliol,<sup>57</sup> Ralph de Broc,<sup>58</sup> Hugh of St. Clare, Thomas Fitz Bernard, and all who should hereafter lay hands on the revenues or property of the see of Canterbury to misuse them or to obstruct their use by those to whose needs they have been assigned. The king, whom he had previously called upon by letter and by messenger, according to the customary ecclesiastical procedure, he now invited to make restitution and called him publicly to the fruits or penance, threatening to pass sentence of anathema against him soon if he did not regain his senses and make satisfaction

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53 Frederick Barbarossa.

54 Archbishop Rainold of Cologne, the Emperor's chancellor.

55 Alexander III.

56 Henry II's justiciar, regarded as one of the authors of the Constitutions of Clarendon.

57 Excommunicated for the same reason as Richard de Lucy. Cf. Letter 175, note 10.

58 He and the two following were excommunicated for having seized the revenues and property of the see of Canterbury.

for his arrogant measures against the church. But the king certainly will not do this of his own accord, and I know none of his menials who would be inclined to promulgate this sentence to him. The archbishop also passed a public condemnation on the document containing the crimes of evildoers against the church, which goes by name of the ancestral customs,<sup>59</sup> and included under the ban of anathema whoever should make use of the authority of that document hereafter. The following were the principal theses condemned by name, on the advice of the church of Tome:

That a bishop may not excommunicate anyone who has tenure from the king, without the king's permission;

That a bishop may not protect any one of his parishioners from perjury or breaking his word;

That clerics are bound by decisions of secular courts;

That laymen, either the king or others, may deal with cases involving sees or tithes;

That appeal may not be made to the Apostolic See for any reason without permission of the king and his officials;

That neither an archbishop, bishop, or any other person may call upon my lord pope without authorisation of the king; and many more such provisions, which have been found opposed to the laws of God and the constitutions of the holy fathers.

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<sup>59</sup> That is, the Constitutions of Clarendon.

The archbishop also absolved all bishops from the promise they had made to submit to that document contrary to ecclesiastical decree. He proclaimed this to archbishops and bishops by letter, too, as he had been advised by the Roman church. While the archbishop was doing this, however, the king, as I am sure you are aware, sent a good man, Master Walter de l'Isle,<sup>60</sup> to England with letters from the conference at Chinon,<sup>61</sup> to warn the islanders that an appeal had been made, to set a careful watch over the ports and channel crossings, and to suspend the clergy's obedience; whereas all the time, as a matter of fact, the appeal had not been made at all, and the archbishop could easily be found. I have no doubt that this chicanery, along with all the other encroachments against God's church, is distasteful to the aforesaid Walter, for he is a God-fearing man. The king has also called in my lord of Chichester<sup>62</sup> and others whose foresight he thinks can strengthen his evil designs against God; certainly, though, if they were wise they would at least spare themselves and theirs in such a cause as this, for "upon their own head will the punishment fall."<sup>63</sup> For the rest, my lord pope is well in Rome.<sup>64</sup> There is a reliable report that Cremona along with eight other

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60 Custodian of the King's Seal.

61 Cf. note 34 above.

62 Hilary, Bishop of Chichester from 1147 to 1169.

63 Ovid, *Ars Amoris* l.340; for the translation, cf. Letter 159, note 20. / 64 He had returned there November 23, 1165.



states is in revolt against the Teuton.<sup>65</sup> The bishop of Tusculum<sup>66</sup> and Cardinal Humbald<sup>67</sup> have passed away. King William of Sicily also died,<sup>68</sup> succeeded by his sons, one to his kingdom<sup>69</sup> and the other to the duchy of Apulia.<sup>70</sup> When he was in his death-throes he had 60,000 pounds sterling made over to John of Naples<sup>71</sup> for the use of my lord pope; the son who succeeded to the throne, moreover, sent a like amount. The French king supports the archbishop of Canterbury in every way, and has more respect for him than for his own brother.<sup>72</sup> I imagine that the affairs of the English court, where the situation is in continual flux, are better known to you than to myself. May your Paternity flourish and prosper in the Lord, and be sure to recommend us to the prayers of the saints, that He may "comfort us in all our tribulation."<sup>73</sup> I will return when He Who set me aside for exile wishes me to; for Him, as far as it be His good pleasure, I have readily decided to endure exile and the adversities which He has decreed and has strengthened my weakness to bear. May He Who has given me in my unworthiness the will to suffer for His sake grant me by His grace the patience to

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65 Frederick Barbarossa.

66 Hugo, Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, who died May 31, 1166.

67 Cardinal of S. Croce in Jerusalem.

68 William I of Sicily, who died May 7, 1166.

69 William II.

70 Henry, Duke of Apulia.

71 Cardinal of St. Anastasia.

72 Henry, Archbishop of Rheims.

73 Corinthians 2.1.4.

persevere. My wish and prayer is for the welfare of your church and all your house, and of all who "communicate to our necessity"<sup>74</sup> through their kindly intercession.

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74 Cf. Romans 12.13.

Letter 175: John to Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter

Two reasons have led me to write to you<sup>1</sup> under the present circumstances: first, because, as is my custom, I do not permit anyone I know to be travelling to you to leave without a letter from me; and secondly, because I wanted to humor those of my friends whose wishes it is proper to satisfy. These friends have asked me to use whatever small influence I have to recommend to your Paternity the bearer of this letter. He says he is a native of Devon, though one might think he came from your own former fellow-parishioners around Mount St. Michel<sup>2</sup> in the Bay of Brittany.<sup>3</sup> He is commended for the reason that he has lived in the district of Rheims for some years creditably and without cause for complaint. In compliance with their wishes, therefore, I make this appeal to your piety sincerely and confidently, especially since both personal experience and the common consensus have proved to me, as to many others, that a man of your perception is not unaware of that law among friends which is ratified by the promptings of equity as well as by the judgment of philosophers. It is--and you know this better than I--that integrity should rule one's requests, and that conversely, the requests of one's friends should find ear only insofar

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1 Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter. Cf. Letter 174.

2 Bartholomew was a native of Millieres, Department of La Manche.

3 John calls the bay "Armoricus," the present Bretagne.

as that integrity permits.<sup>4</sup> Right reason certainly demands that what is wrong in itself be neither asked nor granted in the name of friendship.<sup>5</sup> Since, then, I have undertaken for my friends' sake to recommend a friend to my father and lord, I beg you, out of regard for God and through my intercession, to give him a favorable hearing in whatever point discretion may deem it consonant with his needs and your integrity. If you happen to hear that he is coming back here to me, he can be given letters containing at least what is common knowledge, to bring me news of yourself and our friends. For the present I am writing rather sparingly about my own circumstances, not that I wish to hide any of my affairs from you, but because I recall that I gave you all the news quite recently through Fulk;<sup>6</sup> whatever the written page lacked I judged would be supplied by the exalted office and care of its bearer. But touching the public state of affairs, it has been repeatedly asserted since then, that all the English bishops have met at the king's<sup>7</sup> command, and, to forestall the sentence which my lord pope<sup>8</sup> had pronounced, have appealed against their archbishop<sup>9</sup>--against their own archbishop, who for their own

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4 Cf. Cicero, Laelius 44.1,2.

5 Cf. id. 37.15-18.

6 Dean of Rheims.

7 Henry II.

8 Alexander III.

9 That is, Thomas of Canterbury.

safety and the freedom of the church, has not been loath nor afraid, ashamed nor hesitant, to expose his own property to the spoilers, his position to peril, his good name to mockery, and his very head, should circumstances require it, to the swords of his enemies. Two clerics came to him recently, as I was reliably informed by a man who was at Pontigny at the time, to make a public declaration and appeal, one on the part of my lord of Salisbury,<sup>10</sup> and the other for his dean.<sup>11</sup> They flatly denied that they had taken any oath to the emperor,<sup>12</sup> or had held any communication with the Cologne schismatic, Rainold.<sup>13</sup> One of them admitted that he was a cleric from the house and board of Master John of Oxford, a cleric of the king's, and said that he had a message from the king to the archbishop. In the name and person of his majesty and, as he said, at his command, he summoned the archbishop to an audience with my lord Pope Alexander, filing an appeal through him and setting the date as that when "I am the good shepherd" is sung.<sup>14</sup> The archbishop, however, gave him this answer: "Since I do not know you, since you carry no letter nor commission from the king, and since you are excommunicated for communi-

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10 Jocelin de Balliol, Bishop of Salisbury from 1142 to 1184. Cf. Letter 174, note 57.

11 John of Oxford, dean of Salisbury. Cf. Letter 174.

12 Frederick Barbarossa.

13 Barbarossa's chancellor, Archbishop of Cologne from 1159 to 1167.

14 That is, the second Sunday after Easter, April 23, 1167.

cating with your lord John of Oxford, who has been publicly excommunicated by papal letter, you cannot make a valid appeal. For my part, I will follow the apostolic decree, and with God's grace, fulfill it." I wanted to know how he is disposed towards Salisbury,<sup>15</sup> and have sent a personal messenger to get a confidential report of his intentions. For the rest, all France is amazed at this move on the part of the bishops; they say that they should rather have met to discuss the salvation of their king, whom they see daily slipping because of his oppression of church and clergy, just as the emperor is doing because of his schism. They should have concerned themselves with the freedom and peace of the church and taken pains to restore peace for the clergy, instead of exposing themselves and their own property to expense, toil, and danger, and by debasing their own good name reduce the church to servitude for the future. There has been another surprising development also, if it is really true, which startles all who hear it: namely, the bishop of Hereford,<sup>16</sup> though held to be educated and to despise the things of the world, is inveighing against the archbishop who consecrated him, and calls him an agitator because he is asserting the freedom of the church. Did not the officers of the children of Israel throw the blame thus on

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15 That is, Jocelin de Balliol. Cf. above, note 10.

16 Robert of Melun, Bishop of Hereford from 1163 to 1167.

Moses and Aaron,<sup>17</sup> the executors of God's law, because they were scourged by the taskmasters and denied the straw that was rightfully due them? Did they not reproach the ministers of God because they had made their names "to stink before Pharaoh and his servants"?<sup>18</sup> But even though they murmured and complained, they still followed Moses. Would that these who are now murmuring and complaining follow the law or the Lord! If they will do this, they will confer separately with both parties, the king and the archbishop. They will openly accuse the one whom they find at fault. They will take sides against him, and will not defile themselves by contact with uncleanness, either by condoning or dissembling the wickedness of the other.

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17 Cf. Exodus 5.15.

18 Exodus 5.21.

PART IV

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APPROVAL SHEET

The thesis submitted by Daniel V. Harkin, S.J. has been read and approved by three members of the Department of Classical Languages.

The final copies have been examined by the director of the thesis and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final approval with reference to content, form, and mechanical accuracy.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts.

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Date

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